

SOCIAL CREED  
OF THE CHURCHES

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HARRY F. WARD

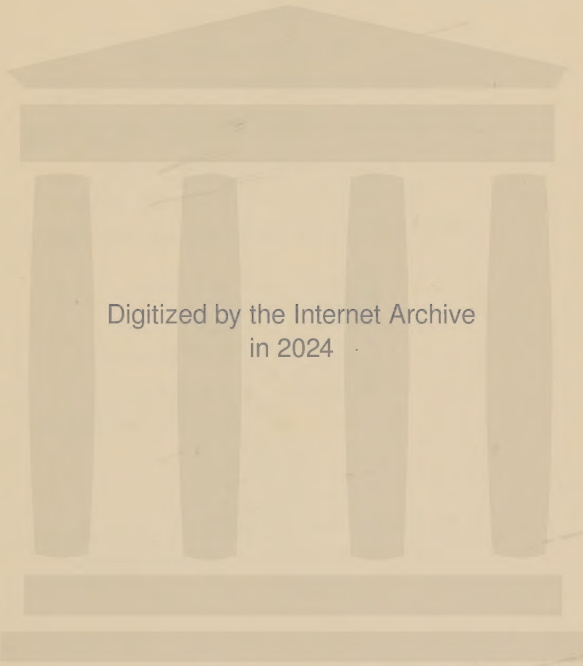
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PRELIMINARY TO  
A SERIES OF SOCIAL SERVICE HANDBOOKS  
NOW IN COURSE OF PREPARATION

# SOCIAL CREED OF THE CHURCHES

EDITED BY  
HARRY F. WARD



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HARRY F. WARD



## THE SOCIAL CREED OF THE CHURCHES

ADOPTED DECEMBER 4, 1908

*The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America stands:*

For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

For the abolition of child-labor.

For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

For the suppression of the "Sweating System."

For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is the condition of the highest human life.

For a release from employment one day in seven.

For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachments of every kind.

For the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change.

For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries, and mortality.

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For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.

For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions.

For the abatement of poverty.

For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.

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## PREFACE

THE adoption of some definite social and industrial standards by the Protestant denominations of the United States constitutes a significant fact in the history of religion. It marks the deliberate and conscious entrance of the Church upon the field of social action.

The churches are now confronted with the task of applying these standards to life. The first step is to interpret them to their members so that they become a concrete goal. Hence, this little book. It endeavors to define each of these standards, describe the conditions that demand its realization, state what has been done or is proposed to realize it by legislation, by State or voluntary activity, and suggest broadly how the churches may coöperate with these endeavors, or act on their own initiative.

The desire to make a book of such moderate price that it could be used by study classes or reading circles has made the treatment of each subject very brief. But the sources of information and activity are pointed out for those who wish to go further.

While the work has been done by a group of men, nevertheless the use of a common plan and methods and considerable editorial collaboration give more unity to the book than is usually obtained in such a case.

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The coöperators in the work, the number of the chapter following the name, are: H. A. Atkinson (12), S. Z. Batten (3), E. S. Bogardus (8), D. B. Brummitt (6), J. S. Dancey (11), F. G. Deibler (13), Owen R. Lovejoy (2), J. H. Odgers (5), D. D. Vaughan (4), J. H. Williams (10), R. J. Wyckoff (9).

HARRY F. WARD.

NOTE.—Individuals or classes desiring to use this book in connection with a brief study of conditions in their own community can secure a short list of questions for each chapter from Rev. Harry F. Ward, Secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Service, 343 South Oak Park Avenue, Oak Park, Ill.

## I

# THE EXTENSION OF PRIVILEGE

For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

## A FOREWORD

THAT the Bible is the great charter of human liberties has long been recognized. That Christianity involves a complete democracy of life is just beginning to be understood. That it can tolerate no social groups that bequeath special privileges to their members, nor any whose members fall heir to definite handicaps, the churches here affirm. They voice its demands that every man shall have free access to all the opportunities that life affords, a demand which follows its assertion of the worth of the individual and of the dependence of the common life upon his realization of that worth. A statement of some of the implications of this demand will therefore serve as a foreword to the exposition of those more definite social standards upon which the churches are insisting.

One of the most apparent social consequences of Christianity has been the extension of privilege from the few to the many. The control of justice and government, opportunities to acquire education and a

comfortable standard of living, were at one time considered the exclusive privileges of a favored few. They are now acknowledged to be the rights of all. Equality before the law and equal rights of participation in the government are directly guaranteed to every man under our Constitution. His equality of opportunity to participate in the comforts and culture of life is an implied guarantee, involved in his right to "the pursuit of happiness."

### NEEDED REFORMS

Constitutional guarantees, however, are one thing on paper and another thing in life. As a matter of fact, conditions have arisen which effectively prevent many men from obtaining "equal rights and complete justice." Because of the cost of legal procedure, through delays and technicalities, because the law has failed to adapt itself to changed industrial conditions, the wealthy individual or corporation is specially favored, the poor man often fails of justice and the group of wageearners suffer particular disabilities. Because of certain customs of political action, the average man finds it difficult to express himself in the government, and has by no means equal political rights with the members of those small organization groups who have managed to perpetuate a close-corporation control of local politics. Because of our antiquated system of taxation, as well as because of defects in its administration, the government does not treat all its citizens with justice, but the heaviest burden is



placed on the backs of those least able to bear it. Because of concentrated and sometimes conscienceless control of the means of transportation and of industrial organization, many men suffer bitter injustice in the business world and many more are denied equality of opportunity. A similar control of public utilities denies the man of small income an equal opportunity with his wealthier neighbor to enjoy many of the comforts and some of the necessities of life.

These are commonplace facts of modern life, and the process of changing them has already begun. In each of these fields reforms are not only proposed, but are being worked out. These measures must be considered by the men and women of the churches, regardless of self-interest, in the light of their effectiveness in extending equal privileges to the entire community. Proposals for the modification of court procedures, for labor legislation, for political machinery to enable the voter more directly to control legislation and government, for new methods and a changed basis of taxation, for the public control of transportation and industry, for the conservation of our natural resources, that their benefits may be enjoyed on equal terms by all the people, for the public regulation or public ownership of public utilities must all be measured by their contribution to the social purpose of Christianity, that all men should have equal opportunity to more abundant life. To the support of all reforms which make for fuller rights and larger justice for every member of the community the Church is clearly pledged.

## A DEMOCRACY OF LIFE

The issue, however, goes deeper yet. Behind these governmental and industrial relations are the very conditions of life itself, which they very largely determine. The result is that there are large stretches of social territory where the constitution does not run, where its fundamental guarantees could be said to apply only by an interpretation which might even strain the legal mind. There are large social groups which are really denied any firm hold upon life itself, not simply because of the insecurity of their grip upon the necessities of life, but because the conditions of their employment subject them to extra risks of accident and disease, condemn them as a group to a higher mortality and a more shortened life than other groups. Every child has the right to sunlight and fresh air, to the freedom and beauty of God's world, and a fair chance to the health which these develop. Yet the children of the tenements are denied this right, and are condemned to dirt and darkness, to ugliness and sickness. It is conceded that education is a common right, that every child should have the opportunity for the fullest development of its capacities, yet this kind of education belongs only to the children of certain privileged groups. For the children of other groups, the culture of life is practically an impossibility. Even the proper development of their spiritual faculties is denied them, for this depends upon a certain degree of leisure, and there is an economic condition to church membership.

These facts raise questions of social justice, of the

relation between social groups, and of the relation of them all to the means of life that cannot here be considered. It is sufficient to point out that Christianity is pledged to a democracy of life. Those who love their neighbor as themselves cannot rest content as long as his children, through no fault of his own, are deprived of opportunities for health and education and spiritual development which their own children enjoy. Christianity is not satisfied until all the privileges of life become the rights of all the people. It is pledged to such changes in social organization as shall make possible to every individual free access to all that is best in life. To all specific proposals looking to this end the men and women of the churches must therefore listen with an open mind. To those which clearly move in this direction they must, at any cost, lend their firm adherence.

#### REFERENCES

The best general sources of information on all subjects treated in this book are:

Bliss, Revised Edition The Encyclopedia of Social Reform.  
Bulletins of United States Bureau of Labor.

The Survey, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York.  
(On file in most libraries.)

Consult Poole's Index and The Reader's Guide for treatment  
in current magazines.

## II

### CHILD LABOR

#### For the abolition of child labor

ALTHOUGH the effort to reform the evils of child-labor is among the latest developments of civic and religious interests in America, such progress has been made during the past decade as to justify the belief that our country may free itself from this blight.

The chief industries engaged in the employment of little children are the textile industries, particularly cotton, silk, and hosiery; coal-mining and quarrying; glass-manufacturing; street trades, including the work of newsboys, bootblacks, messengers; sweatshops and tenement industries; cigar and cigarette-manufacturing; fruit and vegetable and seafood canning industries, and various forms of agricultural labor, of which the most objectionable are those connected with truck gardens and canning establishments where factory conditions have invaded rural communities. The total number of children under sixteen employed, as reported by the census returns of 1900, exceeded 1,750,000. The present number is unknown. Within the decade industries have grown in certain sections by leaps and bounds, creating an increased demand for the labor of children. On the other hand, the public

has been aroused and organized against child-labor as never before. In many sections it is known that the more serious abuses have ceased and the total volume of child employment is greatly decreased.

Christian people should recognize that child-labor has grown and continues in America, not primarily because of cruelty or greed, but by a combination of forces more subtle and more difficult to oppose. Thousands of parents who are horrified by reading stories of child-labor in England are content that their own children should be employed, while many employers appear sincere in their belief that such occupation offers the child the best opportunity to develop, and the child readily combines his favor with the other interested parties opposing any effort to "emancipate" him. The force of the tradition that all kinds of work are a blessing, the argument of poverty that unless children are employed families will starve, the popular belief that, after all, child-labor affects only the foreign child, and the general protest against the inadequacy of our educational system are all called into requisition to defend child-labor.

#### GAINS IN LEGISLATION

The movement against the evils of child-labor has been led by the National Child-Labor Committee which is a voluntary organization, having a membership of approximately 5,000 people in all parts of the United States. When the committee was formed, six years ago, there were many States with no legislation on child-labor. Many States with so-called child-labor

laws were helpless to protect the children because the laws were rudimentary and the State lacked machinery for enforcement. Less than ten States had any adequate method of meeting the ever-increasing problem.

In six years the National Child-Labor Committee has published and distributed approximately ten million pages of literature, has organized State and local committees in twenty-nine States, and has helped secure the following important legislative changes:

Seventeen States have passed laws forbidding child-labor under fourteen years.

Thirteen States have fixed an eight-hour day for children between fourteen and sixteen years.

Eighteen States have prohibited night work for these children.

Thirteen States require proof of age, physical examination, and other safe-guards to protect children seeking employment.

Yet there are 30 States in which children may work at night; 33 in which they may work more than eight hours a day; 24 in which they may work in mines, and ten States which have no system of factory inspection.

The best child-labor laws forbid the employment of children under fourteen years at any time; forbid the employment of children under sixteen in mines, quarries, or other dangerous occupations, or at night, or for more than eight hours per day; protect illiterate children and those physically defective under sixteen in order to fit them for use-

ful occupation ; and grade the protection of all minors according to the hazard of their industry. These laws also provide a well-equipped department of factory inspection, with authority to enforce the law. Children seeking employment must furnish an age and schooling certificate based on absolute proof as to the child's age and educational attainments. This type of legislation is being promoted by the National Child-Labor Committee in its program for the coming year. The committee is in coöperation with local organizations, which solicited its advice in twenty-five States in the winter of 1910-11. The aid to local organizations given by the National Committee is chiefly in the form of expert investigation to obtain and report the facts, advice in drafting laws and in securing their enactment, and the publication of literature treating of the general subject and of local conditions.

### WHAT THE CHURCH CAN DO

The Church must recognize that child-labor is a national system. We must avoid the attitude expressed by many citizens prior and during the Civil War in trying to lay the blame for this social evil upon any group or section. More little children are employed in the cotton mills of the South than in textile mills elsewhere, but the total number of child-laborers in the North far exceeds the number in the South, while every community with industries that can profitably employ children shows marked tendency in that direction.



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The Church must acquire a knowledge of the detrimental social effects of child-labor. Among these the experts mention the facts that child-labor is detrimental to health, interferes with education, produces industrial inefficiency, checks the normal economic consumption of goods through poverty, applies to the industrial market "Gresham's law" by forcing into competition with standard labor a depressed industrial currency, lowers the general standard of living in the community.

The churches can act upon the divine order to resist evil by contending against the system in general and by opposing it in its local forms even at the sacrifice of personal advantage or denominational popularity.

They can utilize and coöperate with the agencies most efficient in bringing about reform. Little can be accomplished by denunciation or fault-finding. Definite and constructive measures are demanded. In the correction of child-labor abuses experience has developed a definite policy, which must be followed until something better is discovered. Child-labor laws with high standards must be enacted and enforced. They must be supplemented with good compulsory school-attendance laws. Our schools must be made worthy the time required of the child by being adapted to the needs of an industrial civilization. We must establish agencies to guide children into proper channels of employment, partly for their own sake, but chiefly to conserve our most valuable public asset.

The National Child-Labor Committee offers itself as the special agent of the churches in this field and solicits



their use of its office and agents to the fullest extent. The Committee suggests the appointment of small local child-labor committees with a secretary, who shall be in direct correspondence with the secretary of the National Committee. This coöperation will enable the Committee without delay to place before the churches of any State such propositions as may call for concerted action. The Committee also invites the churches to observe one Sunday in the year as Child-Labor Day by sermon, Sunday school or young people's service, and without cost to the churches sends literature for use in preparation. Many churches have already enrolled as sustaining members of the Committee and regularly receive its publications.

The Church must recognize that child-labor is a menace to its own existence. Clergymen and religious workers complain that our cities are drifting from the Church. What else can be expected when boys and girls are consigned to factories, stores and sweatshops, or driven into our streets to peddle goods or run night errands between houses of vice and insatiate degenerates? In many localities where child-laborers abound the wages are pitifully meager, treatment is brutal, moral influences are negative, and educational opportunities entirely absent. But this system menaces the Church from another point. No institution can live faithless to its own ideals. The sacredness of the little child is fundamental to the faith of practically all religious communions. Yet the churches in many sections of this country tolerate

the conditions described. Were the churches to unite with a determination to blot out the shame of child-exploitation and secure for every child a reasonable opportunity for growth, healthful play, and practical education, the problem would be solved in five years.

#### REFERENCES

- Publications of National Child-Labor Committee, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York.
- Publications of National Consumers' League, New York.
- Bulletins of United States Bureau of Labor, Nos. 52, 59, 73, 75, 89.
- Report of New York Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1908, Part I.
- Report of Massachusetts Commission on Technical Education.
- Edgar Gardner Murphy, *The Present South*.
- Florence Kelley, *Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation*.
- George B. Mangold, *Child Problems*.
- John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*.
- State superintendents of education, State factory inspectors, and the United States Bureau of Labor, Washington, D. C., will gladly furnish added information upon request.

### III

## THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

IN a sense, the question here under consideration is a comparatively new one. It is true that women have always worked in one way and another, but to-day the problem presses at a new angle of incidence and involves wide-reaching consequences. In this brief chapter all that we can attempt is to state the problem, indicate some of the effects that are becoming apparent, and suggest several items that must enter into any effective program of reform.

### THE GROWING ARMY OF WOMEN WAGEWORKERS

Several things have contributed to increase the demand for women as industrial workers and to lead them away from the home into the economic world. Labor-saving machinery has relieved man of the heavier labor once done by mere brute strength, and thus far it has lightened man's burden. But this machinery requires care and attendance on the part of some one, and as it is found that this work can be done by women and children, there is an ever-increasing demand for their services.

Again, the high cost of living and the low wages paid the man worker have combined to force woman to become a wageearner. According to the census of 1900, the average wage paid men workers in the United States was \$490 per year. According to the findings of the Pittsburg Survey, the wages of the mine and millworkers, on the average, are not sufficient to maintain the workers' families in moderate comfort. In view of the fact that, according to the most conservative estimates, an income of \$640 per year is required in order to maintain a family of four in such a way as to preserve the highest physical efficiency, it is readily seen that in thousands of cases the family is shut up to these alternatives: it must either live in such conditions as to endanger the efficiency of its members, or the income must be increased by the wages of women and children.

Then, in the last few years, many new lines of activity have been thrown open to woman, and this means an increased demand for her labor. The rise of the department store, the development of the public school system, the invention of the typewriter, the growth of the great steam laundry have created a demand for thousands of women as workers.

According to the United States Census Reports, in 1880 the total number of female workers ten years of age and over was 2,647,157; in 1900 the number of such workers was 5,319,397, or more than double. This means that over one eighth of the total female population, and over one sixth of the females ten years of age and over, were wageworkers. To a certain

extent women are displacing men in some gainful occupations. In 1890 there were ten gainful occupations that women had not entered; in 1900 the number had been reduced to four. Out of 303 occupations named in the census reports 299 are now open to women; at any rate, women are found in them. To-day women are employed as plasterers, lumbermen, hostlers, blacksmiths, farmers, carpenters—occupations that were once regarded as masculine employments. The figures here are significant, but for brevity's sake only a few of these can be mentioned. In 1909 there were employed as:

Servants and Waitresses.....	1,165,561
Agricultural Laborers.....	456,405
Laundresses .....	328,935
College Professors and Teachers.....	327,206
Agricultural Proprietors.....	307,706
Saleswomen .....	142,265
Cotton Mill Operatives.....	97,181
Musicians and Teachers of Music.....	52,010
Tailors .....	61,571
Laborers not Specified.....	106,916

In a few occupations there has been a remarkable increase in the past decade, as follows:

	Per Cent
Lawyers .....	385.5
Stenographers .....	305.9
Architects .....	217.0
Packers, etc. ....	203.8
Clergymen .....	197.9
Telegraph and Telephone Operators.....	167.2
Nurses .....	163.3
Saleswomen .....	156.4

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Journalists .....	148.1
Laborers .....	121.6
Librarians .....	116.7
Miscellaneous Manufacturing .....	109.3
Miscellaneous Trades.....	103.3

In many other lines of employment there has been an increase in the number of employed, while very few occupations show any decrease in the number of women workers. One other fact may be mentioned with reference to the employment of women, for it has a marked bearing upon the question before us. Of the 5,319,397 women gainfully employed there were: Single women, 3,629,479; married, 769,477; widows, 857,055; divorced, 64,636.

This is not by any means an American problem; in fact the advent of women in the industrial world is, in a large sense, a world phenomenon. Thus John Hobson shows that while the number of males engaged in certain lines of manufacture increased in England by 53 per cent from 1841 to 1891, the number of females increased in the same period 221 per cent.

### THE CONDITION OF WOMEN WAGEWORKERS

In a number of industries women work side by side with men, doing the same work and keeping the same hours. But, as a rule, it is found that the wages of women are considerably less than those of men. The United States Census Report for 1900 shows that the average wages paid men were \$490.60 per year; the average paid women were \$272.04. To understand the problem before us we must know something of the causes for this inequality in wages.

The low wages paid women is due in part to their entrance into the world of workers. This has created a supply altogether out of proportion to the demand; so that their remuneration is within the power of their employers. This alone is quite sufficient to keep their wages at a low scale.

Another cause of the low wage paid women is the fact that they are largely unskilled workers. Since the market is always glutted with unskilled workers, it follows that women's wages are low. Fortunately, the census reports show a marked gain in the occupations requiring skilled labor. The figures show also that while the number of women wageworkers has increased 16 per cent from 1890 to 1900, their wages have increased 27.5 per cent.

The lack of ambition to attain industrial efficiency owing to the expectancy of marriage must be mentioned as another reason for the low wages of women. If a woman is to be married, why should she spend several years seeking an industrial training? If she spends time and money gaining such training, is she not likely to remain unmarried? The fact that many women are not dependent upon their earnings for a livelihood has the same result. What is the use in acquiring an industrial training so long as there is a possibility that it will not be needed? From these and other reasons women's incentives to acquire industrial efficiency are not as great as men's.

Again, many women wageworkers are not wholly dependent upon their wages for their support. Many women seek employment that they may add to the



income of the family, and be able to dress well. Others, growing tired of the monotony of home life, become salesladies and clerks, that they may have something to do. These occasional women workers are setting the scale of wages at the starvation point for their unfortunate competitors who are wholly dependent on their earnings for a living.

Then the physical weakness of women closes many occupations to them and makes it impossible for them to compete with men on terms of fair equality. Women are more often absent from work on account of sickness than men. This must be named as an important factor in assessing the net total availability of women as an industrial wageworker. John Hobson, in his "Evolution of Modern Capitalism," shows most conclusively that there is a higher proportion of sickness among women workers than among men. The loss of working time, as he suggests, may be reduced to a considerable extent by giving more attention to physical training and exercise and by a higher standard of diet.

One other cause may be mentioned here of the low wages of women workers—the lack of organization. Thus far women wageworkers have not been generally organized into trade unions. Several reasons for this condition may be given. Women workers, as a rule, have been unskilled, and so they have passed from one line of work to another more quickly and readily than men. Women have been more patient and submissive under wrong conditions, and so have been slower to assert their rights. The large number of women



seeking employment and ready to take any place left vacant has constrained many women to accept things as they are. Perhaps also the fact that women have had no vote, and so could not make their voice heard and their demands effective in State Legislatures, has had much to do with the unreadiness of lawmakers to consider their needs. Then the life of woman in the past has not contributed to develop the organizing and mobilizing instinct in her. At any rate, the trade-union movement has made headway much more slowly among women than among men. Fortunately, however, the trade-unions of men have taken up the cause of their working sisters and have secured many reforms. "If trade-unionism has rendered no other service to humanity, it would have justified its existence by its efforts in behalf of working women and children. It is to the credit of trade-unionism that it has to some extent alleviated the condition of women in factories," says John Mitchell.

In these latter days efforts in behalf of women trade-unions have borne fruit, and a number of such unions have been organized. It is certain that the movement will spread, though it makes headway very slowly. So long as women wageworkers are unorganized, so long as individual bargaining is the rule, that long their wages must be low and the conditions of employment unsatisfactory.

### THE RESULTS OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

This is a difficult question to discuss, for the reason that the facts are so many and the conclusions are

so diverse. And yet out of all the mass of facts and the maze of perplexity there appear certain results that cannot be denied.

*On the Home Life.* It needs no proof to show that the absence of the wife and mother from home must have detrimental effect upon the home. And it needs no seer to perceive that the early employment of young girls is a poor preparation for the work of home-making. How many homes are made unhappy from this cause statistics cannot show. How many young women, accustomed to the life and excitement of the store and mill, find home life monotonous and distasteful, and so neglect the home, one may surmise but cannot count. How many men given poorly cooked food, and, finding home unattractive, are driven into saloons, the student of the temperance problem may conjecture but cannot fully determine.

*On Health.* It is possible to quote figures both ways on this subject; this shows that the effects of women's employment are not wholly bad, and in some cases may even be good. In many lines of employment no doubt women work in better conditions so far as light and air are concerned in the factory than in the home. As a general thing, the women in factory labor come from poorer homes, with small rooms often poorly ventilated and lighted, and they work in roomy and sanitary factories. If we were dealing with the sweatshop, we might have a different story to tell, for home-work sweatshop labor is usually done in crowded quarters and under unsanitary conditions. In many States laws regulating the conditions of

women's work have been passed, and these have done much to improve the sanitary conditions and safeguard woman's health. But thus far Legislatures have been slow to act; and worse than all, Supreme Courts have more than once declared such acts unconstitutional. It needs no proof to show that woman must suffer in health from long hours on her feet; it is plain that work in a stooping posture must be detrimental to her health; and labor for long hours, till she is fatigued, must be disastrous to her nervous system.

Some two years ago Louis D. Brandeis presented to the Supreme Court of the United States a brief in the case of *Miller* against the State of Oregon. The question at issue was the constitutionality of a ten-working-hour law for women in the State named. In the brief a mass of evidence was presented showing that the industrial employment of women as now carried on has been so prejudicial to woman's health as to demand legal regulation in the interest of the community. According to the evidence cited, physicians and lay experts agree that the health of women needs greater safeguards than that of men, since the increased speed and strain of modern manufacture affect women's physical organization most disastrously and make dangerous inroads upon their nervous endowment. The evil effects of overwork, particularly on the female functions, on safety and on morals, is illustrated by quotations from inspectors and authorities beginning from the report of the British Medical Commissioners in 1833. The evi-

dence cited by Mr. Brandeis was so conclusive that the Supreme Court sustained his position and affirmed, on the basis of his evidence, the constitutionality of the law.

*On Child Mortality and Crime.* At this point the results of the increased employment of women are most manifest and most ominous. In England the figures show a close connection between women wage-workers and child mortality. The total mortality of infants under one year per 1,000 births for England and Wales was 153 in 1859, and 155 for 1869. The corresponding figures for Lancashire—a manufacturing district—were 176 and 187; thus it appears that the rate of infant mortality was much higher in the manufacturing districts at both periods. An even more unfavorable showing is made by arranging the married women workers of English artisans in three classes: the first contains many workers in shops; the second a fair number of such workers; the third practically none.

#### INFANT MORTALITY PER 1,000 BIRTHS

YEAR	CLASS I	CLASS II	CLASS III
1881-1890.....	195	167	152
1891-1900.....	211	177	167

For our own country the figures are no less startling. Fall River has the largest proportion of women workers of any city in the Union. In this city, in 1900, 10,274 women worked in the cotton mills; of these 2,815 were married, and 556 were widows or divorced. According to the United States Census for

the country at large, out of every 1,000 babies born 165 died the first year; in Chicago the mortality was 189; in Fall River it was 305. In Providence, Rhode Island, there were in 1905 2,998 deaths; of these 656 were children under five years of age, or 22 per cent of the total. In Fall River the number of deaths the same year was 2,109; of these 1,117 were children under five years of age, or 51 per cent of the total. With Providence as a basis, the number of deaths in Fall River would be about 464; this means that in this city of 100,000 population at least 653 children die each year because their mothers work in the mills.

With reference to crime, the figures are no less conclusive and disturbing. The reports from all parts of the land with reference to juvenile delinquency show that there is a marked increase in the number of such offenders. The number of such delinquents increased from 23.7 per 100,000 population in 1890 to 28.3 per 100,000 in 1904. The census figures show that during this time there was an increase in the number of married women gainfully employed from 4.6 per cent in 1890 to 5.6 per cent in 1900. It may be that some people will find no connection between these figures, but the student of social life sees a vital relation between the number of married women at work and the increase of juvenile delinquency. Where the wives and mothers are at work all day the children are certain to be neglected; and the results are beginning to appear in the statistics of juvenile courts.

*On the Moral Life of the Workers.* Here the facts adduced by various investigators are conflicting and

confusing, and definite conclusions are not possible. Thus Carroll D. Wright paints a bright picture of the moral condition of women workers, declaring that many of the charges on this score are wholly unfounded. He says that the popular impression is that women wageworkers are not up to the standards prevalent under the old hand system of labor, and that her entrance into the industrial field has lowered her moral standard; and the statement is constantly made that low wages naturally compel women to supplement their earnings by an immoral life. He is convinced that this view is absolutely false, and that working women in this country and Europe are upon as high a plane of purity as any class in the community. He then quotes the findings of two investigations conducted in 1881 and 1884 with reference to this question, and declares that information relating to 3,866 fallen women showed that a large proportion of them—1,155—came from housework and hotel work; the next largest, so far as occupation is concerned, was 505 from the rank of seamstresses, dress-makers, and employees of cloak and shirt factories; while 1,236, or 31.97 per cent of the whole number, came directly from their homes. The testimony of capable and honest women, of heads of departments in great stores and millinery shops, forewomen of shops, and matrons of homes is that the working women are as respectable, as moral, and as virtuous as any class of women in the country.

Unfortunately, these statements are not borne out by the findings of other investigators. In many lines

of employment the wages of women workers are low, below the safety line—too low to afford an adequate support. According to the Report of the Census Department in 1905, the wages of women sixteen years of age and over averaged \$6.17 per week; and these figures, it may be noted, do not cover all manufacturing establishments but only a selected list of 193,583, employing in all 5,470,321, male and female. But these, it may also be noted, represented the better grade of industries, employing more skilled workers and paying better wages. Still more significant are the statistics relating to twenty-five selected industries, and these of the better grade. Here the wages of women workers ranged a trifle higher, from \$5 per week to \$7.60. It must be evident that a large number of women received wages below the standard of safe maintenance; it must be evident also that many wage-workers must do one of two things: They must live in conditions that are below the standard of comfort and efficiency, or they must receive help from other sources. As a matter of fact, both alternatives are found to-day. As every one knows, many women wageworkers are trying to support themselves on very meager incomes, and all the time they are preserving their moral integrity and their self-respect. The quiet, unnoticed heroism of such women is a testimony to the innate and unlost nobility of our human nature. But, alas! such temptations as exist should not be permitted to gather around the women workers of the world. The store girl must dress well; she must be attractive; if she lives at all, she



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must keep up appearances. These things combine to intensify her temptations. At this stage of human development the girl with an attractive face and a good figure is regarded as legitimate prey for many of the human wolves that go around seeking whom they may destroy.

The facts are amply sufficient to show that many women work under conditions that threaten home life and endanger their moral integrity. Miss Jane Addams, than whom there is no better authority on such questions, refers to a real difficulty in the fact that our modern industrialism has gathered together a multitude of eager young creatures from all corners of the earth as a labor supply for the countless factories and workshops upon which the present industrial city is based: "Never before in civilization have such numbers of young girls been suddenly released from the protection of the home and permitted to walk unattended upon city streets and to work under alien roofs; for the first time they are being prized more for their labor power than for their innocence, their tender beauty, their ephemeral gayety."

### THE REMEDIES THAT ARE POSSIBLE

There is one hopeful sign of the times amid all the dark and ominous things that awaken questioning. The world is coming to social self-consciousness, and men are beginning to see things as they are. To-day we are beginning to ask in anxiety what can be done to correct abuses and to remedy conditions.



In the past few years something has been done along various lines to improve conditions of working women. It is much even to have a problem stated and to cause people to consider it.

In many States and cities much has been done by personal effort, by general agitation, and by legislative action to improve the conditions of working women. Laws have been passed regulating the hours of labor, prescribing the conditions under which women may work, and seeking to safeguard the health and morality of the workers. In various government reports one will find the record of such legislative action both in the United States and on the Continent. But withal much yet remains to be done; and a few of these remedial measures may be here noted but cannot be discussed in detail.

*Industrial Training of Women.* In the past few years, as we have seen, many new avocations requiring training have been opened to women. The number of women who will become nurses, physicians, lawyers, stenographers, telegraph operators, and journalists is certain to increase; and this will necessitate more adequate provision both in the public school and in technical institutions. For a long time to come, however, the number of women who are forced by necessity to leave school and become wageearners is likely to be large. To-day only a small proportion of the pupils in the public schools ever go beyond the grades. Two alternatives confront us at this stage: Either the great proportion of working girls must go without any technical or trade training, and so must

remain unskilled workers, or the public school must provide some such training for them in the grades. If the public school is to insure the young girl any technical equipment for life, it must provide that equipment early in the course.

*The Organization of Women Workers.* However it may have been in the past, the time when individual bargaining is possible has gone by forever. A trade-union of some kind is an urgent necessity at this stage of human progress. Till such unions are created little can be done in a real and effective way. If the State were fulfilling all of its possible functions in an intelligent way, such unions might not be necessary; but while the State is making progress in the direction of its social and economic functions, it may be a long time before it will do all of its work. Thus far only a small percentage of women workers belong to trade-unions; in most cases the women's organizations are simply auxiliary to men's unions. In the main, the women belong to men's organizations under protest, and only in order that they may be permitted to work at the trade in association with men who are organized. The trade-union is a great school for working girls. The trade-union educates the community as well as the workers. Trade-unions have also had an important indirect influence upon legislation. The National Woman's Trade Union League in its platform demands: 1. Organization of all workers into trade-unions. 2. Equal pay for equal work. 3. An eight-hour day. 4. A minimum wage scale. 5. Full citizenship for women. 6. All principles involved in

the economic program of the American Federation of Labor.

*Legislative Action.* The State is the one agency through which all of the people can coöperate in their search after justice and progress. And the State can do much directly and indirectly to improve the condition of working women. And now that the Supreme Court of the United States has affirmed the constitutionality of laws limiting the hours of women's labor on the ground of health, it is probable that the States will enact many remedial measures in the years to come. The government can do much to determine the plane of social and industrial action. It can do much by limiting the hours of labor and defining the conditions under which women shall work to improve their status. The National Consumers' League proposes as its immediate goal the following: A working week of six days; not more than sixty hours, preferably fifty-six, fifty-four, or forty-eight; abolition of night work; a closing hour set at 6 P. M. in the textile industries and not later than 10 P. M. in others; a working day of ten hours, preferably not more than eight or nine. A short working day on Saturday, if provided, should not depend upon longer hours on other working days.

*Working Girls' Homes.* This side of the problem has been almost wholly overlooked in the discussion of the question before us. It is true that a beginning has been made in the Young Women's Christian Association; but this is only a beginning. In this connection the suggestion of the author of "The Long

Day" is well worthy of careful consideration: "What the working girl needs is a cheap hotel, or a system of hotels—for she needs many of them—designed something after the Mills Hotels for workingmen." "The most important necessity of the model working-women's hotel, or lodging house, would be, not a luxurious table, nor a dainty sleeping room, but a parlor." As there is no such parlor in the average boarding house, the working girl who would receive her gentleman friend must either walk the streets, go to the parks, frequent the dance halls or the theaters, or slip into the back rooms of a saloon. Probably no greater service could be performed by the churches in the cities than to provide in some way suitable parlors where working girls can entertain their friends under proper conditions but without any officious and impertinent supervision; the working girls can be trusted to do a larger part of this work themselves.

*The Work of the Churches.* The churches hold the key to the social problem. They can do more than all other institutions to help the working woman and to secure better economic conditions. They can do many things to improve the conditions of women wageworkers. They can develop in the rank and file of their members a deep interest in social and industrial questions. They can study social conditions and can train the conscience of the people. The figures show that in the United States ten years ago 769,500 married women were wageearners. Do the churches know what are the causes which have driven

so many women to become breadwinners for the family? Is it due to drink? Is it due to the low wages of their husbands? The churches are verily derelict before God and man if they do not know the causes; and they are convicted as false shepherds if they do not do everything in their power to change these conditions. In all of our cities every night an army of widowed mothers are to be seen on their knees scrubbing the floors of railway stations, stores, and offices. This noxious task, we are told, is sacred to them, because the work is so ill paid and so loathsome that men will not do it. Why is it that in a land boasting of its intelligence and prosperity widowed mothers should be driven to this task? Do the churches know what are the causes lying behind this tragic spectacle? If not, how can they persuade themselves that they are interested in the least of God's children? There is work for the churches here—vital, urgent, Christian work. Let them study social conditions; let them demand equal pay for equal work; let them make and train the conscience of the people; let them put their faith and love and resources in pledge in behalf of a better and more Christian social order.

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## IV

### THE SWEATING SYSTEM

For the suppression of the sweating system

THE term "sweating" was first used among journeymen tailors. Tailoring houses once executed all orders on the premises, but gradually the convenience of giving out work to tailors to take home was recognized. The long hours which home workers were induced to toil in order to increase their pay caused the term "sweater" to be applied to them by men who worked for a fixed number of hours on the tailors' premises, and who found their work passing more and more into the hands of home workers. Originally a sweater was a worker instead of an employer. As the worker enlisted the help of his family and others, he became a sort of middleman, and the term "sweater" is now generally understood to mean the sub-contractor between the manufacturing tailor and the toiler.

What is commonly known as the "sweating system" is "a condition of labor by which the maximum amount of work possible per day is performed for a minimum wage, and in which the ordinary rules of health and comfort are disregarded. Technically, a sweatshop is a tenement house kitchen or bedroom, in which the head of the family employs outsiders,

persons not members of his immediate family, in the manufacture of garments for some wholesale merchant tailor." The term has also been used by labor unions to express their contempt for the payment of wages below the union scale. It has also been applied to laundries which forced a fifteen or sixteen-hour day upon their employees at the end of each week.

### SWEATING CONDITIONS

The commodities which, in the United States, have been most subject to sweating have been clothing, cigars, feathers, furs, and artificial flowers. In England boots, shoes, shirts, and furs are products of sweated industries. It will be noted that the trades above mentioned are such as admit of piecework, fluctuating seasons, low-grade talent, inexpensive or no factory equipment, minute divisions of labor, immigrant labor, or labor scattered in many homes instead of completed under one roof. These points are important, for on them has depended the maintenance of the system, which is "the most ingenious and effective engine of overexertion known to modern industry."

Piecework enables the sweater to reduce wages to the cost of a meager living, with the hours of toil lengthened to the limit of endurance. With a reduction in the piecework wage, the toiler may meet his misfortune by increasing his output at the expense of his health and his leisure, and if, unorganized, he submits. Fluctuating seasons—for example, the spring and fall demands for clothing—reduce the worker to



poverty between periods of prosperity, so that hunger and necessity drive him to work for almost any wage and with almost any condition of labor. The low-grade talent required gives the unlimited competition of a congested, unskilled labor market a chance to operate. The foreigner naturally falls into the sweated industries immediately upon his arrival, for no knowledge is required of the country, the language, or the trade. The minute divisions of labor make necessary only one operation, which is easily and quickly learned, so that it is not difficult to replace any toiler who is dissatisfied. For example, in the modern, thoroughly organized tailor shop there are fifty-six divisions to a pair of pants, over sixty to a coat, and twenty to a vest.

Among other methods used to speed workers is the speeding up of the machine, so that it is necessary for a worker to move at a forced speed in order to keep up. Workers have also been made unnecessarily dependent upon each other, so that one would force the other to work. For example, the operator is speeded to finish work for the baster, and the baster is put under pressure by the waiting finisher, etc. Pace-setters have also been used to speed on groups of toilers, and foremen are paid a bonus for work turned out in a limited time.

The fact that no factory equipment is required has brought the home and the unproductive members of the family into the labor market, so that often an entire family, by a gradual reduction of wages, has found itself working for a wage justly due one toiler.

The scattering of work in many homes and among people totally unacquainted with each other has made it impossible for the workers to get together to talk over grievances and to demand a change. The difference in nationality and language adds a serious barrier even in the factories where toilers congregate. Sometimes women finishers have been paid different wages for exactly the same work in the same shops, because of a difference in ability to meet the domineering methods of the sweater.

The clothing trades are those most subject to sweating. These include ladies' cloaks, suits, and undergarments, and men's and children's clothing. While some large retailers have shops of their own, very few have enough to do all the work. In the busy season bids are called for from contractors to take the work to their own shops or let it out to be done in the homes.

The cities in the United States suffering most from the sweating system are New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Rochester, Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Syracuse, Cleveland, Saint Louis, Utica, and Milwaukee.

The sweating system works evil both to the producer and to the consumer, and eventually to the entire public. Basement shops, with their dampness, produce rheumatism and tuberculosis, and help in the spread of all diseases. Usually the toilers have neither ideas nor ideals on the question of ventilation, and the odors and impure air from the charcoal heater, the lamps, the gasoline stoves, the steam from garments

being pressed, seriously affect the health. Attic shops are hot in the summer time, and, because of an insufficient water supply, likely to be foul all the time, and dangerous in case of fire. The dye from cheap cloth goods is injurious to the skin, and fluff and dust work injury to eyes, throats, noses, and lungs. Foot-power sewing machines are exhausting, depleting the strength, and leaving the toiler subject to epidemics of almost any kind. Specific instances of the effect of sweating upon the health of the worker and of its responsibility for the spread of contagious diseases can be found in Hull House Maps and Papers, pp. 36 and 37, and in State factory inspection reports.

### MEANS OF ABOLITION

There are three ways of abolishing the sweating system, and all three agencies will have to be used to insure final victory.

1. The producer must organize, and work with both the employer and the State.

2. The consumer must organize, and must recognize and refuse sweated goods, and be willing to pay the higher price demanded for goods properly made. He must also seek suitable legislation.

3. The State must provide adequate legislation.

England has recognized the helplessness of those employed in the sweated industries by establishing by law a minimum wage. The adjustment of rates is left in the hands of a nonpartisan committee. The various elements combining to aggravate evil conditions in the sweated industries require, in the United

States, either some such minimum wage law or a strong organization of the employees. It is absurd for the public to longer hold to the idea that the employer should deal with the single individual instead of with a committee representing all of the workers. The sixteen-year-old girl, or the newly arrived immigrant, or the ignorant, unskilled sweatshop employee is utterly helpless when standing alone before the shrewd, trained business man. The principle of collective bargaining must be recognized if any improvement at all is to be made.

It has been difficult to organize the employees in the sweated industries because the individuals have been scattered in such a way that it has been almost impossible to find them. The fact that most of them are new arrivals, and are willing to work for almost any wage and under almost any conditions, that general poverty has necessitated the acceptance of a low wage, while low standards of living have made possible a miserable pittance and unwholesome conditions, have seriously aggravated the situation. Recent strikes, however, in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago have caused the employers to recognize the principle of collective bargaining, which means the dawn of a new day for garment factory employees.

The tendency of modern industrial methods is to bring everything into the factory and to centralize scattered efforts. This movement is already evident in the sweated industries, and it will materially aid the workers in their attempts to organize. It will

also assist the public and the State in fixing responsibility. The factory helps further by making work more regular, for employers find it unprofitable to have lying idle the immense capital invested in large factories.

In order for the consumer to accomplish anything organization is likewise necessary. This has been done through the National Consumers' League. After nearly twenty years of history some advance has been made in the way of reform. Public sentiment has been aroused so that people generally are opposed to the sweating system, and, in States where the law has required the label "Tenement Made" on goods failing to meet the State standard, it has been almost impossible to sell them. The great difficulty is in securing some such universal method of branding goods. It was formerly argued that if purchasers paid a good price, or bought clothing from merchant tailors, the sweatshop would be avoided, but this is not true. Most of the high-priced tailor shops in large cities have the clothing made entirely outside of the shop, and have it made as cheaply as possible. Usually a cutter and a presser are in evidence, and occasionally a tailor may be seen, but the bulk of the work is sent out. The same thing is true of practically all retail stores. A high price is absolutely no guarantee against sweatshop goods; the only guarantee is some sort of label.

The Consumers' League has formulated a list of requirements for manufacturers and commercial houses. The League has issued a label,



which stands for certain definite ideals. The use of the label is allowed only under the following conditions: The State factory law is obeyed; all the goods are made on the premises; overtime is not worked, and children under sixteen years of age are not employed. The League guarantee is based upon the following procedure: Before the use of a label is awarded to a manufacturer his factory is visited by an agent of the League, who also asks both the local Board of Health and the State factory inspector for a report on the establishment. When this is satisfactory the manufacturer signs a penalty contract embodying the four points guaranteed. After the use of the label is awarded, the factory is visited from time to time by the agent of the League, and the Local Committee of the League reports upon it to the national secretary.

White lists of manufacturers are published, so that purchasers may know whom to patronize. There are now sixty-nine manufacturers in thirteen States, authorized to use the label. For several years there have been more of these accredited factories in Massachusetts than in any other State, for the law protecting women is more stringent and more vigorously enforced there than elsewhere. When increased cost of manufacture is required, competition makes it al-

most impossible for individual factories to yield to public sentiment without the help of the law to force competitors to the same high standard.

While the Consumers' League has done much, it does not reach a large enough constituency to adequately affect public sentiment. The national organization embraces sixty-one Leagues in nineteen States, including branches in several universities, but it does not reach the great bulk of purchasers. The organization of producers, the labor union, has not been enthusiastic over the Consumers' label, issued by the organization of consumers, arguing that it did not insure the same high standards represented by the union label. Either label, however, represents a great step in advance, and should be demanded by the public. It is further necessary that both the producer and the consumer, through their organizations, shall demand adequate legislation and insist on a vigorous enforcement of laws.

### EXISTING LAWS

Eight States already have laws pertaining to the sweating system: Massachusetts, Iowa, New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, and Maryland.

Massachusetts was the pioneer in sweating reform. As it now stands, the Massachusetts law reads:

No room of any tenement or dwelling house shall be used for the purpose of making, altering, repairing, or finishing therein, any coats, vests, trousers, or wearing apparel of any description whatsoever except by members of



the family dwelling therein, and any family desiring to do the work of making, altering, etc., shall first procure a license approved by the chief of the district police to do such work, as aforesaid.

No person, partnership, or corporation shall hire, employ, or contract with any member of a family not having a license as above provided. Every room or apartment in which any garments or articles of wearing apparel are made or altered, etc., is to be inspected for cleanliness and health.

Whenever it is reported to said inspector . . . that ready-made coats, etc., are being shipped to this commonwealth, having previously been manufactured under unhealthy conditions, said inspector shall examine said goods and their condition of manufacture, and if upon such examination said goods are found to contain vermin, or to have been made in improper places or under unhealthy conditions, he shall make a report thereof to the State Board of Health, which Board shall therefore make such order or orders as the public safety may require. Whoever sells or exposes for sale any coats which shall have been made in a tenement or dwelling house in which the family dwelling therein has not procured a license shall have affixed to each of said garments a tag or label not less than two inches in height and one inch in width upon which shall legibly be printed the words, "Tenement Made," and the name of the State and the town or city where said garment or garments were made. No person shall sell or expose for sale any of said garments without a tag or labels, . . . nor fraudulent label, nor . . . alter nor destroy such label.

The penalty for violation of any provision of the act is a fine not exceeding \$200, or imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding six months.

It will be noted that the right of the family to do as they please with their own rooms is not interfered with. If others than the family are employed, the



rooms become subject to factory regulations. If the private family only does the work, a license must be procured, which will not be granted unless the rooms are clean. The label "Tenement Made" interferes with the sale of goods, and brings the makers to meet the requirements of the law. The requirement demanding the name of the city and the State is directed against New York city tenement-made clothing.

Experience has shown that it is exceedingly difficult to prosecute the sweater and the manufacturer, for they are hard to find. As a former factory inspector says, "It is well-nigh impossible to keep perfect lists of sweaters, since a man may be an operator to-day, a sweater on a small scale next week, may move his shop in the night to avoid the payment of rent, and may be found working as an operator in an inside shop at the close of the season." The merchant, however, can be easily reached, and is really the responsible party. In most States amendments have been added to the law placing the responsibility on the manufacturer and the merchant, and requiring a list of the names and addresses of all parties to whom work is given.

The Illinois law eliminates the tenement by saying:

No room or rooms, apartment or apartments in any tenement or dwelling house used for eating or sleeping purposes shall be used for the manufacture for sale in whole or in part of coats, vests, trousers, knee pants, overalls, cloaks, skirts, ladies' waists, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, or cigars, except by the immediate members of the family living therein.

Like the Massachusetts law, the Illinois law pro-

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vides for the inspection and destruction of goods likely to spread infectious or contagious diseases.

The sweated industries are further relieved by the special factory laws pertaining to women and children. Massachusetts says that no child under fourteen shall be allowed in the workshop, and none between fourteen and sixteen without an affidavit from the parents, of the age, date, and place of birth. No female may be employed more than eight hours any one day, nor more than forty-eight hours in a week. The hours required of women each day must be kept posted in every room where women are employed, and a list of the names and addresses of children under sixteen must be likewise posted.

It is argued by those interested in reform that the enforcement of an eight-hour law would compel an increase in the number of employees, and the enlargement of factories, so that groups would be formed too strong to be subject to such injustice as is forced upon a few scattered home workers.

In the Ohio law there is a careful attempt to separate the factory rooms and the tenements:

No dwelling or building, or any room connected with any tenement, shall be used except by the immediate members of the family living therein for the manufacture of clothing, cigars, or cigarettes, unless meeting certain conditions set forth in the act as follows: "Any room so used shall be regarded as a factory and subject to inspection. It shall be separate from, and have no door, window, or other opening into any living or sleeping rooms; it shall not contain beds, bedding, nor cooking utensils. It must have a separate entrance of its own, be well ventilated and lighted, have

separate water closets for the two sexes, and must furnish at least two hundred and fifty cubic feet of air space in the day time and four hundred cubic feet at night for each person employed.

The New York law adds suspenders to the list enumerated under the Illinois law. It also requires the "Tenement Made" tag demanded by the Massachusetts law, and holds the owners of property responsible for violations.

It is evident that in the enforcement of proper laws not only the factory inspection department must be used but also the building department, the health department, and the fire department. With the workers organized, the public aroused, and the State active in suitable legislation and vigorous law enforcement, the sweatshop cannot long exist.

### WHAT THE CHURCH CAN DO

The Church can aid substantially through General, Annual and District Conferences and city Preachers' Meetings, by taking steps to initiate or to support efforts to obtain suitable laws for the protection of toilers. Resolutions recognizing the justice of the principle of collective bargaining and the claims of the toilers are of assistance in molding the ideals of pastors, who, in turn, influence local congregations.

Pastors may help by acquainting local congregations with the general situation, and by getting a committee to investigate and report local conditions, and by creating a public sentiment that will demand of local tradesmen either the union label or the label of

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the Consumers' League. Some societies have joined a State Consumers' League as a body, and have taken a very active part in the work of the League.

Local congregations may be stirred to encourage suitable legislation, and toilers in the congregation may coöperate with the factory inspector in law enforcement. In many congregations there are parents with low ideals on the question of child labor; these standards should be raised. In factory towns the pastor should put himself in touch with employers, and tactfully seek to remedy, by personal interview, any evil conditions that may exist.

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City Club of Chicago, 228 South Clark Street.  
National Woman's Trade Union League, 275 La Salle Street,  
Chicago.  
Chicago Federation of Labor, 275 La Salle Street, Chicago.  
American Federation of Labor, 25 Third Avenue, New  
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## V

### REDUCTION OF HOURS OF LABOR

For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

#### REASONS FOR SHORTER WORKING HOURS

BEHIND the steady aim to reduce the hours of labor is the idea that overwork is degrading as well as unhealthful, that man has a right to live as well as to toil, and that unending drudgery is not life. There is involved in this struggle the need of man's higher nature, his intellectual and spiritual development.

There are also economic reasons for this movement. The modern workman is in need of fewer hours solely on the basis of physical and mental efficiency. The demands of modern machinery upon the nervous vitality of the workman make long hours absolutely destructive to his efficiency. The recent investigations of the medical profession into the toxin of fatigue and its effect upon the vitality, and the newly developed science of business management, both demonstrate that there is a point beyond which men cannot work without loss not only to themselves and to society but also to their employers. The over-

worked man is an element of weakness in every part of the world of industry.

It is clearly established that up to a certain point the reduction of hours of labor is not unprofitable to the employer. As far back as 1881 the Labor Bureau of Massachusetts reported that the reduction of hours of work in the seaboard States from eleven to ten has not lessened the output per day. The report from the United States Bureau of Labor, April, 1904, shows that of 396 establishments 316 reported no reduction of daily wages resulting from fewer hours of labor. In twenty-five other establishments the reduction in wages was smaller than the accompanying reduction in hours; in 13 establishments the reduction was greater. In 42 establishments the wages were increased despite the reduction of hours. In 1904 the United States government constructed two war vessels of identical specifications. One of these, the Connecticut, was built in the government navy yards, where the day's work is eight hours. The other was built by a private company whose working day was ten hours. The result proved that the average amount of work per hour, per man, was 24.48 greater on the eight-hour day than on the ten-hour plan. Private manufacturers report generally a loss in changing from the nine to the eight-hour day, but the experiment is at present so limited as to allow of no general conclusions. The point at which the reduction of hours of labor begins to be unprofitable to industry is not yet established. It is clearly established that anything over ten hours is unprofitable

to the employer as well as to society. The principle of further reduction is thus put by Professor Clark, of Columbia University: "If you want a man to work for you for one day, and one day only, and secure the greatest possible amount of work which he is capable of performing, you must make him work for twenty-four hours. If you want him to work a week it will be necessary to reduce the time to twenty hours per day; if you want him to work for a month, a still further reduction to eighteen hours per day. For a year fifteen hours per day will do; but if you want to get the best out of him for a working lifetime, you will have to reduce his hours to eight each day."

#### LENGTH OF HOURS OF WORK

The necessity of the struggle for existence early made a man's working day cruelly long. Yet before the industrial revolution, the excessive hours of toil were at least tempered by the absence of artificial light. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the working day for apprentices was fixed by statute at twelve hours in summer and daylight in winter, with two and a half hours for meals. With the development of the factory system, however, at the beginning of the Victorian era, the working day was stretched to a length unparalleled in the history of labor. The government reports of that period show that the hours of labor, not only for men but also for women and children, ranged from twelve to fifteen. These conditions caused a movement for the reduction of the



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hours of labor which has gone on until it is generally recognized that ten hours is a sufficient working day. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has recently said that "anything over ten hours is an abuse which ought not to be sanctioned by a Christian employer, nor tolerated in a Christian community." Yet recent government investigations show that the steel industry, one of the largest employers of labor in the country, has been employing from 20 to 30 per cent of its working force twelve hours per day, and that for seven days in the week. Competent observers of the home conditions of these workers testified that the twelve-hour day has been a potent cause of degeneration. Washington Gladden tells of a man who worked for the steel company five consecutive years, twelve hours per day, seven days per week. He had a wife and five children to support, and he knew the fate of three machinists who were discharged simply because they asked the boss to be released from Sunday work. But so grinding did the constant labor become that, in spite of all his fears, this man finally dared to break away for one Sunday forenoon. Of such working hours, Professor Virschow said in the German Parliament, "Under such conditions workingmen have opportunities for nothing except drink and sensual pleasure." These conditions have been changed as a result of the investigations that made them public. The presidents of the various companies composing the United States Steel Corporation were instructed by its president that there was to be a twenty-four-hour continuous



interval during each week in the production of ingots, and that all other work except necessary repair work was to be suspended on Sunday. The twelve-hour day still remains in force, but a committee of the American Iron and Steel Institute is considering the possibility of changing to three working shifts of eight hours each.

### LEGISLATION FOR SHORTER HOURS

The movement for shorter hours can be traced upon the statute books. It must be remembered, however, that in the order of events legislation comes almost last. Behind the laws is a long story of suffering and of arduous struggle for relief. A brief chronology of short-hour legislation is as follows:

1802. Hours of work for adults were from eleven to fourteen.

1802. The elder Peel introduced a bill in the British Parliament limiting the working hours of children who were pauper apprentices to twelve.

1810. The bookbinders, the advance guard of reform, won a ten-hour law.

1817. Robert Owen sought to reduce the hours of labor to eight. He failed, though even children were working fifteen to sixteen hours in the textile mills.

1830. Richard Oastler began agitation for a ten-hour day.

1832. Tom Sadler introduced a ten-hour law in Parliament. It failed.

1833. Lord Ashley was instrumental in reducing the working week for children under thirteen to forty-eight hours.

1847. Mr. Felden introduced a ten-hour law which applied to men and women.

1860. A revival of the nine-hour movement.

1871. Strikes for a nine-hour day.

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1872. The nine-hour day granted to skilled artisans.

1886. The agitation for an eight-hour day begun.

While these events were taking place in Great Britain the same movement was also proceeding in Australia, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States.

In the early days of this country, as elsewhere, people toiled all through the hours of light. Women and children, as well as men, began as early as 4:30 A. M. and worked on for fifteen hours. Between 1832 and 1840, factory girls in Lowell, Massachusetts, worked seventy-eight hours a week. Then the agitation for shorter hours commenced. In this movement the government has usually set the standard, and its requirements for a day's labor have influenced the entire situation. In 1842 President Van Buren proclaimed that the working day in the government navy yards should be ten hours. One result was the gradual reduction to the ten-hour day in all shipbuilding ports. Pennsylvania was the first State to establish a ten-hour day by law. General progress was slow, and as late as 1863 the mills at Southbridge were running thirteen hours a day. In 1869 Congress passed an eight-hour law, which was adopted by the navy yard at Charlestown, although the government notified the workmen that wages would be reduced one fifth, thereby largely defeating the movement. Yet the standard of an eight-hour day had been raised, and the workers gathered behind it. The Eight Hour League was organized in Boston in 1869, and the organization of the Massachusetts Bureau of

Statistics occurred the same year. It was the first of those governmental departments which, by publishing the facts of industry, have furnished the basis for labor legislation.

The general result of the movement for shorter hours in the United States, England, and Australia may be summarized as follows:

1841-44. Fourteen hours per day.

1852. Thirteen hours per day.

1907. Ten hours per day.

This is an average representing both those workers who have achieved the eight-hour day and those who continue to toil through a much longer day.

The New York Department of Labor in its report for 1908 showed that there were 958,151 factory workers in the State, of whom 83.6 per cent worked from fifty-two to sixty-three hours per week. Yet this is a reduction since 1898, as follows:

	51 hours or less	52 to 57 hours	58 to 63 hours	Over 63 hours
1898.....	8.2	22.1	65.8	3.9
1907.....	9.6	46.6	40.5	3.3
1908.....	13.7	43.3	2.7	—

A further indication of progress is legislation strictly limiting the hours of labor for minors, and in some States forbidding night work. The failure of attempts to lengthen working hours is also a clear indication of the strength of the short-hour movement. In 1910 an attempt to legalize the work of women in the loose-leaf tobacco industry at seventy-two hours per week, from October to February, was defeated.

In the same year the New York Legislature denied the request of the canners of vegetables and fruits for a law to permit practically unlimited hours for women in that seasonal industry. It is, therefore, apparent that legislation on this subject will advance and not recede.

### GAINS THROUGH ORGANIZATION

The most potent force working to reduce the hours of labor has been the organization of the workers into trade-unions. The results achieved in this direction by organized labor in the past one hundred years are one of the best evidences of the value of trade organizations. It was the bookbinders who won the first ten-hour law in England in 1810, though as early as 1806 in the United States the calkers set out for a ten-hour law. In 1856 the trade-unionists of Melbourne formed an Eight Hour League. Sometimes reduction of hours in a trade has only been achieved by strikes as a war measure. For instance, it was the strike of the steel workers in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, which really called attention to the conditions of overwork in the steel industry, and resulted in the changes which have been noted. This strike arose in a protest by three men against Sunday labor, and the workers also demanded a shorter work day. Similarly, the spectacular strike of 80,000 cloak-makers in New York in 1910 had for one of its grievances the long hours of work, and one of the results of the strike was the securing of shorter hours. One of the two fundamental demands of organized labor is

a shorter working day, and the greater part of legislative progress in this direction, and the increasing public sentiment concerning the value of this movement, must be attributed to organized labor.

#### PROPOSED LEGISLATION

Pending legislation for shorter hours has generally to do with the work of women, because the courts are more ready to sanction the use of the police power of the State in shortening woman's labor on the grounds of public health and welfare. The United States Supreme Court recently decided that a ten-hour law for women in the State of Oregon was constitutional, and the Supreme Court of Illinois has recently handed down the same decision, reversing its own decree of several years earlier. Therefore the champions of the eight-hour movement hope to see it first generally applied to the labor of women. In nine Southern States a law is pending limiting the working week for women to six days with a maximum of sixty hours, abolishing night work in the textile industries, closing other industries at 10 P. M., and shortening the working day on Saturday. An effort is being made in Illinois to extend the ten-hour law, which now applies to factories, laundries, and other mechanical establishments, to telegraph and telephone offices, mercantile establishments, park attendants, etc. Another effort is also being made to limit the working week for women to fifty-four hours, and in some States to forty-eight hours. Another proposed plan is to require industries which operate at

night to run three shifts of eight hours each. In the field of men's labor a law is proposed in some mining States fixing the eight-hour day for work below ground. The present program of those who are working to shorten the hours of labor may be summarized as follows:

To work for the eight-hour day. To reduce Sunday labor to the minimum and require one day's rest in seven. To establish a higher scale of wages for extra time. To establish a Saturday half holiday.

### THE WORK OF THE CHURCH

The Church is committed to a definite program in the reduction of hours of labor by its authorized leaders of the Federal Council of Churches. In their "Appeal in Behalf of Labor" they expressed their individual belief in the eight-hour day, but in the present condition of industry they urged that the immediate goal of the churches be a general reduction to ten hours. Consequently, the churches should support actively all legislation for this end. Furthermore, Christian employers should reduce their working hours to the lowest possible point, and should endeavor to secure united action in this direction throughout their trade or industry.

Beyond this the Church holds up a progressive standard, urging that working hours be gradually reduced to the lowest possible point. This will be worked out one step at a time. What possibilities in this direction the improvement of machinery will bring cannot be foretold. The Church must insist

that leisure is the right of every man, that upon it rests his intellectual and, indeed, his religious development. The Church must hold up the fundamental idea of the worth of man. This idea underlies the Mosaic jurisprudence. Jesus said that a man is worth more than a sheep. The modern world must be taught that he is more than a machine, and of greater value than an industry.

The Church must remember the viewpoint of Jesus, thus expressed by Dr. Grenfell: "There is only one way to reach the soul—that is through the body, for when the soul has cast off the body we cannot reach it at all." If the Church loses the human touch, it will thereby lose the divine touch also. The Church must begin to have more human interest in the welfare of men. This is a characteristic of the ministry of Jesus, and must be recovered by the modern Church.

The Church must interest its members in these human questions. The study of the labor laws of the Old Testament and the comparison of them with modern customs would prove very interesting. A natural beginning is a study of the day of rest as a human need. These questions should be discussed in Sunday school classes, especially where men are found. Every few weeks, events occur which afford ample opportunity to deal with this and kindred subjects. Sermons on this and similar themes at appropriate times will soon create a new interest and a wider sympathy.

The men's club has a mission here, a field that unites practical questions with the highest form of



religion. The Ladies' Aid Society can be made a powerful instrument in achieving social results, as have the women's clubs. Properly directed, there is no class more easily led than church men and women. They are open to the Spirit that is moving in their world, and they have the passion. And where, as in many instances, the Church cannot be a judge and a divider among men, it can at least become intelligent as to the problem; it can show sympathy and interest; it can insist upon the equitable adjustment of difficulties. In all of this the ministry is most likely to lead—and it should lead—with courage, with wisdom, with hope, believing that this also is a part of the everlasting gospel.

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## VI

### ONE DAY'S REST IN SEVEN

For a release from employment one day in seven

THE Church once stood for the principle of rest from labor on the first day of the week, commonly called the Lord's Day. So did the State. But that was in a simpler and more primitive day, when personal and community life was frankly organized under the sanctions of Christianity as the State religion. Then all industrial and social conditions existed under and were controlled by an unquestioned authority which rested on religion. To-day the State ignores the claims of religion in the matter of a weekly rest day, as in other matters. But still it has every reason to uphold such a day in the exercise of its general right to consider and conserve the public welfare. The fact that the day so upheld happens to be the first day of the week has nothing to do with religion, save as the immemorial observance of Sunday from religious motives has made it a convenient day on which to require cessation from ordinary toil.

To-day's life is so organized that the universal observance of Sunday is impossible. However much we may desire to protect the sacredness of the day, we know that our desire grows more nearly impossible

of fulfillment with every passing year. We cannot stop the Sunday street cars, the trains, the blast furnaces, the hotels, the telephones, the newspapers, the innumerable activities which for one reason or another are in operation on a seven-day schedule. It should be possible, and is, to reduce the number of these activities by a more common-sense definition of the familiar phrase, "works of charity or necessity." But it is not possible to make so radical a reduction as to give any hope that in this generation we may see any thoroughgoing rescue of Sunday from the influence of secular work. There is need of a franker recognition of unanimity in recognizing the breakdown of the Sunday rest law as a Sunday law in order that we may seek an adequate remedy for that breakdown.

#### OUR REST DAY LAWS AND CUSTOMS

At the founding of the republic our social and religious customs, and our common law, were part of the nation's inheritance from the colonies, which war did not change. For a generation after the Revolution, and in some States for a much longer time, the Christian religion was considered a part of the common law. Up to the beginning of the modern industrial period—say the middle of the nineteenth century—the religious observance of Sunday met with little or no interference from the demands or the necessities of industrial activities. The religious recognition of Sunday established by ages of custom and instruction was fully written into our laws, either

by direct enactment or by judicial interpretation. Up to 1850 practically every judicial opinion on Sunday observance justified the several statutory provisions applying to Sunday labor on the ground of religious obligation, giving scarcely any attention to the civic or humanitarian aspect of the question. Then, after a very brief period of transition, the courts, about 1850, began to approve Sunday legislation as a proper and necessary exercise of the police power of the State. But the great development of industrialism created new conditions, and the ancient custom of excepting works of necessity from the operation of Sunday laws began to destroy the value of all Sunday legislation. On every hand industries arose which demanded, or seemed to demand, continuous operation in order to be successful commercial enterprises. In the later legislation many of these are specifically named as being excepted from the provisions of the law.

The result has been that multitudes of workers are now compelled to submit to a seven-day week. Such industries as blast furnaces, railroads, street and interurban railways, iron and steel mills, telegraph and telephone lines, heat, light, and power plants, newspapers, hotels, and restaurants are operated seven days in the week. Under special circumstances the seven-day week marks the operation of paper mills, canneries, bakeries, and laundries. In many cases railroad machine shops, ice companies, dairies, chemical works, waterworks, and cement works are in continuous operation.

In Massachusetts, in 1907, it was found that 221,985 men, in sixteen trades and occupations, were employed on Sundays. The report of the Pittsburg Survey showed that 20 per cent of all iron and steel workers in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, were employed on seven days a week. At the works of the Bethlehem Steel Company, in 1910, 29 per cent of all employees worked regularly seven days a week. From other reports it is safe to say that the proportion of seven-day workers in industrial occupations is from 10 to 20 per cent of the whole number employed.

### THE PRINCIPLE OF A REST DAY

In the light of these facts, something more important, as well as more practical, than the rescue of Sunday as a religious institution is the rescue of the industrial army from continuous and, therefore, demoralizing toil. The Church cannot successfully wage war on Sunday labor, for such labor is an integral part of present-day life. Most Christians are the beneficiaries of Sunday work in some form or another, and they accept the situation with an equanimity which shows that they do not reckon such work as in itself presenting any personal or moral ethical problem. But the Church can and should wage war on labor without end. It can not only defend, but with aggressive boldness champion the principle which, briefly stated, calls for "a release from employment one day in seven." This is not simply a broader principle than that involved in Sunday observance,

but it is applicable to industrial conditions in a measure which cannot in our time be true of the demand for cessation from labor on a certain designated day. And it considers the worker as more sacred than the day.

This principle of one day of rest in seven has every humanitarian argument on its side, and it removes every valid objection to a weekly rest day. It saves the worker without destroying the industry. Granting that some industries must of necessity be operated continuously, there is no reason why they should be operated by the same man through endless days of unrelieved and uninterrupted toil. The simple expedient of increasing the force of workers by one seventh would make possible the release of every man from labor on one day in seven.

The cry of expense is of no great importance. The financial burden would be added to the cost of conducting the business, and would be paid, in the long run, by the "ultimate consumer," that is, by society. But society can well afford to pay the price when it sets free for a weekly rest day whole divisions of the industrial army. Society now pays the price of the seven-day week, and a dreadful price it is, no less menacing because it is paid so indirectly that its cause remains for the most part unguessed.

### REST-DAY LEGISLATION

A beginning has been made in securing rest-day laws, as distinguished from Sunday rest laws. California, which has no Sunday rest law, prescribes six

days in seven as the maximum period of work, and makes this apply to all industries. Massachusetts fixes the same maximum period, but makes exceptions in case of farm and personal servants, druggists, watchmen, superintendents or managers, janitors, persons engaged in the transportation and sale of milk, food, or newspapers, in cases of emergency, and at the request of the employee. Three other States have similar laws, but limit their application to specified classes of workers; drug clerks in New York, bakers in Pennsylvania and firemen in fire departments of large cities in Wisconsin. A Missouri law, applying only to bakers, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court February 12, 1910.

But it will be seen that this is a pitifully small showing. With one worker in five deprived of the simple human right to regular periods of release, these laws, except that of California, are the merest playing with the problem. They are notable mainly for what they fail to do. Their chief value is that they are at once a confession of their failure and of the growing need which put them on the statute books.

What can be done? Nothing, suddenly. The chief necessity is the creation of intelligent public opinion, which, growing in magnitude and definiteness, will eventually force the problem seriously upon the attention of lawmakers and employers. The creation of this public opinion is largely a matter of bringing the facts to public notice, and of unyielding emphasis on a few distinct and unanswerable truths. Some are here suggested:

The seven-day week is a disgrace to any industry or any civilization. That needs no argument.

The number and extent of continuous industries constitute a necessity for public regulation, since it is a matter of experience that the masters of industries needing such regulation do not originate it nor readily yield to it.

There is as much religious sanction, and more urgent social demand, for a crusade in behalf of six-day laws as there ever was for that in favor of Sunday observance.

The courts will not sustain Sunday rest laws because of the religious argument, but they will sustain six-day laws on the ground that unremitting toil degrades the individual and is a menace to the State. This is a reasonable inference from the fact that for fifty years this is the one ground on which Sunday rest legislation has been successfully defended.

The time is ripe for the conferring of power on some proper authority by which the necessity for continuous operation in any industry may be legally determined, instead of being left to the greed of the employer or the pressure of competition. This sort of adjudication would put all industry under one or the other of the two forms of rest law. Industries not necessarily continuous would be under the authority of the existing Sunday laws; a properly drawn six-day labor law would take care of the others.

The argument that in some industries the wages paid compel continuous labor in order to bring the worker's income up to the minimum living standard



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is a vicious one. A living wage should be—must be—a wage that permits *living*, not merely laboring.

A series of questions bearing on seven-day work is appended, which might be discussed at a ministerial meeting or at a Brotherhood gathering. It is taken from the report of a committee appointed by the Commission of the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches, to consider the industrial situation at South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, growing out of the strike of February, 1910.

### SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

1. What is the law in this State with respect to Sunday observance?
2. In what industrial operations is it not observed?
3. Do the men in these operations have to work seven days a week, or do they get one day off?
4. If it is stated that it is optional whether they work Sunday or not, are we sure that in practice it works out that way? If a foreman has to get out a piece of work requiring fifty men on Sunday, and only thirty volunteer, what happens?
5. What is the effect of Sunday work on church attendance?
6. What sort of fathers can the men be who work seven days a week; when do they get a chance to be with their children? Do you consider it important, as a churchman, that a father should have time to spend with his children?
7. What sort of a householder can such a man be? What sort of a church member? What sort of a citizen?
8. Is a seven-day week a more exacting, strength-consuming, soul-shriveling program than twelve hours a day?



9. What sort of recreational opportunities have men who work twelve hours a day?
10. What free time for refreshment and relaxation have they besides Sunday?
11. What do the men who have Saturday half holiday do with it? Has it any effect on their Sunday church attendance?
12. Have any steps been taken in your State to provide for one day of rest out of every seven in those industries where Sunday work is necessary? (Massachusetts and California are the only two States that have passed such laws.)
13. Is it the Church's part to support such six-day legislation?
14. In continuous industries, twenty-four hours must be split up between two shifts of workers, or three. It is a choice between twelve hours or eight. Is the issue clear-cut enough so that the Church can favor legislation requiring three shifts of eight hours each in continuous industries?
15. Is overtime paid in your locality for extra work after hours or on Sunday?
16. What would be the effect if time and a half or double time were paid for such overtime? Would men prefer to work Sunday and lay off some other day? Or would such a tendency be rendered negligible by the management transferring all such work to week days, wherever possible, in order to save the extra-pay expense?
17. What sort of activities are commonly proceeded against under your Sunday laws? Saloons? Ball games? Candy shops? Manufacturing plants?
18. Aside from such repressive measures, what is your community doing concerning entertainments, outdoor recreation, and relaxation that a workman may secure

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in his leisure hours? Is this provision left entirely to those who make money out of this natural desire for such things? Is it less important for the community to provide recreation centers than it is to provide a fire department or a jail?

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## VII

### UNEMPLOYMENT

For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachments of every kind.

For the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change.

UNEMPLOYMENT was recently characterized by a Trades Union Congress in Great Britain as "the most vital and urgent question affecting the interest of the wageworkers of the United Kingdom." In the other countries of Europe it is one of the heaviest problems pressing upon the government for solution. In the United States the question is largely ignored, except when commercial depression forces it upon public attention. The extent of unemployment in this country is as yet unknown. Some partial inquiries, covering the highly organized industries, have been made. The New York Department of Labor in the year 1907 estimated that about 15 per cent of the organized workers of that State were constantly unemployed. Similar inquiries in Massachusetts point to a like condition. The United States census for 1900 estimates that about 22.3 per cent of the workers of the country are unemployed for a part of the year. In hard times

this proportion is possibly 35 per cent and may run still higher. The records of charity organizations, added to the results of these partial inquiries, indicate the presence of a group of constantly unemployed workers which is large enough, and increasing rapidly enough, to constitute a serious industrial problem. This is true without including two distinct classes of the unemployed—the vicious and incorrigible and the permanently inefficient and unemployable. The social problem of these groups is to discover the causes of their viciousness or inefficiency. The strict problem of unemployment concerns the man who is temporarily unemployed, who Carlyle said was “perhaps the saddest sight that fortune’s inequality exhibits under the sun, the man who is willing to work and cannot find it.”

#### CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The chief social causes of temporary unemployment are sickness and changes in the organization of an industry. The invention of new machinery, which from the beginning of the factory system has constantly displaced large groups of workers, is still a potent cause of unemployment. Only recently the invention of a molding machine makes it possible for three unskilled laborers to turn out 225 molds per day of a pattern of which formerly a single skilled molder could make only seventeen a day. In 1904 an automatic glass-bottle-blowing machine was invented, which has already caused a fall of wages in that formerly well-paid trade of 20 per cent, reduced the

number of skilled workers, and made possible the first steps toward the consolidation of the industry. Such industrial combination constantly causes loss of employment for large numbers of clerks as well as mechanics and laborers. The seasonal industries, such as construction work, lumbering, harvesting, and ice-cutting, involve a large amount of unemployment. Certain manufacturing industries, such as garment-making, operate with a rush season of heavy overtime and a corresponding slack season of part time or continual idleness. This temporary unemployment tends to create inefficiency and permanent unemployability. It involves the loss of the work habit, and creates a slackness of physical and moral fiber. It involves not only temporary financial distress, but, what is more serious, a loss of working efficiency.

### RELIEF MEASURES

The most widely used expedient for affording temporary relief to the homeless and unemployed man is the municipal lodging house. As developed in several of our largest American cities, it gives the unemployed man a bed, bath, and breakfast, with a chance to seek employment. Sometimes it requires some work to be performed by the lodger, and sometimes gives him free accommodation. It has replaced the old custom of sleeping homeless men in severe weather on the floors of police stations. In the winter season these lodging houses are crowded with seasonal laborers and are being increasingly used by immi-

grants. The most perfect type of this form of relief is found in Germany. There the government provides in certain provinces shelters for homeless men, within walking distance of each other, and in telephone communication. A homeless man is taken in for twenty-four hours; he must work in the morning and seek for employment in the afternoon. If this is not found, he must move on to the next station. This system has reduced vagrancy and mendicity to the minimum, and legislation is being sought to extend it throughout the country. It is helpful to the unskilled laborer, but of little value to the skilled worker. The skilled workers are better served by another type of shelter in charge of private organizations. Here the unemployed men may stay for a week at a very moderate charge and are aided by an employment bureau. These institutions are usually under the auspices of some religious organization, and religious services are conducted.

Temporary relief works in times of widespread unemployment are an emergency measure which has been widely used in Great Britain and at times in this country. They are, however, a purely temporary expedient. They offer no real connection for the worker with the ordinary processes of industry.

As a measure for increasing the incomes of families whose members suffer from partial unemployment, vacant-lot cultivation has been thoroughly organized in several of our cities. It began in Detroit under Mayor Pingree in 1894, and is now carried on in Chicago and Philadelphia, to the extent of increasing the

annual income of some 900 families in each city, by somewhere between \$60 and \$100.

### EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS

One remedy for temporary unemployment is to maintain some public means of bringing together the man out of work and the employer seeking help. Germany has probably the most complete system of State employment bureaus, managed by committees, on which both employers and employed are equally represented. The sole charge is a registration fee of five cents, and some trade-unions use these government agencies instead of maintaining their own. England has recently put in force a national system of labor exchanges, in whose management the trade-unions are actively coöperating. Besides securing employment, this system is designed to sift the unemployed, and to collect data that will give a complete national survey of the current conditions of the labor market. In New Zealand the labor department, whose chief is a Cabinet minister, has for its first duty the finding of work for the unemployed. In this work the police force is used to report information to the labor bureaus. When work is found which involves transportation, passes are issued on the state railroads, under an agreement on the part of those receiving them to refund the price from their first wages. In this country several of the industrial States maintain free employment agencies, and some of the agricultural States, which need additional help at the harvest season, maintain at the capital offices which con-

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duct mail order employment agencies. In addition to these public agencies the employers' associations in large cities usually conduct employment agencies with the idea of securing nonunion help, and in some skilled trades of raising the efficiency of the employees. Charges of blacklist have been brought against some of these agencies. The trade-unions also make it a regular part of their work to secure employment for their members. This function is usually entirely in the hands of the business agent, giving him large opportunities for favoritism and for petty graft. On the whole, however, his discretion is used in promoting efficiency and good conduct on the part of the members of the organization. The State employment agencies are as yet an experiment in this country. They have suffered from being used as a political asset of the administration, from lack of coöperation, and insufficient advertising. They have been of service to the unskilled laborers, but are not used extensively by skilled workers nor by employers seeking a high grade of labor.

### LABOR COLONIES

Farm colonies have been somewhat widely advocated as a remedy for unemployment. They have been very successfully developed in Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium, but there they deal only with the vicious and incorrigible, and are really penal institutions. Germany has developed another type of farm colonies under private philanthropic and religious auspices, but these again deal only with the inefficient



and weak. New Zealand has a state farm of 800 acres, of forest and brush land, which affords temporary work for the unemployed and a shelter for their families. Obviously, this experiment, though it has been successful financially, has a very limited application. It is akin to the Salvation Army colonies in Colorado, California, and Canada, which have been remarkably successful from a financial and moral standpoint in giving a new start in life to groups of families from the slums of Great Britain. These are not properly remedies for unemployment, but relief and restoration measures for slum families. Several of our cities, notably Cleveland, have successful farm colonies, but these, again, are reform agencies, with a penal aspect, for men who are minor delinquents. The farm colony is too far from trade centers, and the group of unemployed that can be permanently turned toward agriculture is too small, to make it a solution for unemployment.

### PUBLIC RELIEF WORKS

There is a growing demand for the creation of public works on which the unemployed could be used. England has developed somewhat widely the plan of general municipal improvements, on which the unemployed can be worked at somewhat less than ordinary wages so that there may be a constant incitement to return to the regular channels of industry. In this connection there is a rule in the German and French cities that all public work shall be done in

the winter, and England is adopting the policy of doing this work in the slack season for local industries. The Independent Labor Party of Great Britain demands state work for the unemployed, with constant employment for forty-eight hours a week and an average minimum wage. It is being pointed out in this country that the conservation movement is opening up large opportunities for the use of the unemployed in planting forests, the reclamation of swamp and shore lands, and in road-making.

#### INSURANCE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The latest proposed remedy for unemployment is government insurance. England is now developing a practical proposal of this sort to supplement her labor exchanges and organization of public work. This is already being carried on in Belgium, France, and Germany. The system generally used is that which was originated in the city of Ghent. It amounts to a municipal subsidy, increased by private subscriptions, to the labor unions, which supplements their out-of-work benefits from 30 per cent to 50 per cent. For example, in 1908, in Ghent, 17,788 persons were in the fund, of whom 7,439 received benefits amounting to \$27,771. Of this sum the unions paid \$18,757 and the city of Ghent \$9,014. This is successful in so far as the trade-unionists are concerned. The attempt to reach nonunionists by paying a like benefit to those who pay dues to a special thrift fund, or have a postal savings account, has not met with success.

## POSSIBLE CHURCH ACTION

The present need in the United States is for an organized knowledge of the labor market so that its conditions would be as constantly reported as are those of the weather. For this purpose the improvement of our State employment agencies, and the creation of some regular communication and coöperation between them is necessary. The forces of the Church can create sentiment and knowledge for this purpose.

The Church is already in many instances a temporary relief agency in time of unemployment. It finds work for many a man. This work can be more completely organized, as the Young Men's Christian Association in many instances has done it. The Methodist Brotherhood of Chicago has organized an employment bureau. The Church can well use its confidential knowledge of men, with sympathy and with wisdom, in helping the unemployed to find work.

## PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The Church can also help in the more fundamental work of preventing unemployment. It can create an effort among employers in seasonal trades for the extension of the period of work. German manufacturers in many trades pay half time in the slack season. Some of the garment manufacturers in Chicago have succeeded in organizing work for the whole year. This process can be extended to many industries that now create unemployment.

The thorough organization of industry offers

undiscovered possibilities for the prevention of unemployment. Some industries are now nationally controlled by so small a group that the serious consideration of this problem would practically eliminate it from them. A congress of the leading employers and workers of an industry to consider practical measures for the reduction of unemployment and to avert the hardships of new inventions in machinery, might be as far-reaching in the world of industry as was the gathering that devised our own Constitution in the sphere of government. The Church should aid in calling such gatherings.

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## VIII

### A LIVING WAGE

For a living wage as a minimum in every industry and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

A CONSIDERABLE proportion of American workingmen are receiving a meager or a less than living wage. They and their wives and adolescent children are compelled to sacrifice their physical strength and their mental energies, day by day, in order to eke out a mere existence. They have no time or strength intelligently to consider the higher things of life. Professor T. S. Adams (University of Wisconsin) reemphasizes the statement made by an English investigator, Mr. Rowntree, that *low rates of wages* as distinguished from inadequate earnings due to sickness or irregular employment, are responsible for about one half of the cases of primary poverty. It is generally agreed that less than living wages must be classed with old age, drink, and irregular employment as one of the five great causes of poverty.

Before we can determine what proportion of American workingmen fall below the level of a living wage it is necessary to come to some general agreement as to what are living wages in this country. It is evident that a living wage will vary

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considerably, as the purchasing power of earnings varies in different communities.

### STANDARD OF LIVING

Mrs. Moore (Wage-Earners' Budgets) after investigating the living conditions in lower West Side, New York, states as a conservative conclusion that a fair living wage for a workingman's family averaging three or four children, and living in New York city, should be at least \$728 per year, or a steady income of \$14 per week. After a year's investigation, the special Committee on Standard of Living, appointed by the Seventh New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections, reported in November, 1907, that with an income of between \$700 and \$800 a family (in New York) can support itself, if not subject to extraordinary expenditures caused by sickness, death, or by similar emergencies, and if it have exceptional management.

Another investigation (1907) of workingmen's budgets was that conducted under the direction of Professor R. C. Chapin ("The Standard of Living in New York City"). The schedule of 391 typical workingmen's families in Greater New York was the basis of the conclusion that for an average family, including three or four children, in New York city, an income under \$800 is not enough to permit the maintenance of a normal standard, and that an income of \$900 or over probably permits the maintenance of a normal standard, at least so far "as the physical man is concerned."

These estimates of a living wage at \$800 or \$900 per year for a family of five living in New York city or Chicago will have to serve our purpose as the nearest correct.

### ACTUAL WAGES

On the other hand, what are the actual wages which are received in the United States? Unfortunately, until the new census figures are out, it is necessary to rely on those of 1900. Professor Adams refers to figures taken from a table giving the wages of male workmen in our factory industries, but omitting the wages of women, children under sixteen, domestic workers, casual laborers, and other classes of the more poorly paid workers, and states that even with this elimination, the average annual earnings of the 4,110,527 adult male wageearners in 1900 in the manufacturing industries was \$491; that one half of the male population engaged in manufactures in the same year may safely be assumed to have earned less than \$480; that at least one half of the adult male wageearners of the United States earned less than \$436 in that year. Mr. Hunter says that without doubt the majority of unskilled workers in the North receive less than \$450 per year.

After a careful study of the reports of the Commissioner of Labor and census statistics, Mr. Ryan ("A Living Wage," 1906) concludes that at least 60 per cent of the male workingmen in our country do not receive a living wage. At least, there is a vast discrepancy between the estimates of a living



wage at \$800 or \$900 and the average wage which is actually received of \$400 or \$500.

The fact that the latter figures are an average indicates clearly that there is a large body of workers among the factory employees who receive less than \$400 or \$500. But lower still in the wage scale is that class of workers which comes under the social evil called the sweating system. Even ten years ago it was estimated by an Illinois factory inspector that 60,000 people in Chicago alone were engaged in the three sweated industries—the garment trades, the manufacture of cigars, and the bakeries. By making an estimate of the extent of sweating in the United States on the basis of these figures for Chicago—which beyond doubt for the present date are far too small—a rough idea of the immensity of the sweating evil may be obtained. In addition, then, to the large proportion of workingmen in our factories who receive less than living wages, we must add the entire body of sweated, or home workers, who receive the scantiest wages of all.

#### REASONS FOR A LIVING WAGE

In a few words, why should a far-reaching, painstaking program be inaugurated to assist the great mass of people in getting living wages? 1. Other things being equal, the better fed and housed the workingman is, the greater will be his industrial efficiency. It is absolutely impossible for any length of time to have normal industrial efficiency without a proper standard of living. 2. Since society has con-



fined the laborer to wages as the only honorable way of making a living, the intelligent members of society must see to it that the laborer, if he is a faithful worker, receive earnings sufficient for a reasonable livelihood. The wageearner "no longer has any ownership in the materials and instruments of production, nor any voice in the management nor control of the conditions under which his body and mind suffer." 3. In order to support and properly train a family the laborer must have sufficient income. When employers force employees to try to support families on \$300 per year, for instance, they are lowering the vitality of a whole generation, robbing little children of nourishment, causing decay of the race—in a word, committing murder by slow degrees. It is evident, then, that our fellow citizens, the day laborers, should have, not a starvation wage, but a living wage. This wage should include the support of the laborer, his wife, and his children until they reach the ages of sixteen or eighteen. But before a program can be outlined whereby living wages may be substituted for starvation wages it is necessary to look for the causes which underlie the present unfortunate conditions.

### CAUSES OF LOW WAGES

Briefly stated, the wage is the price paid for the services of labor. Wages are determined by the supply of and the demand for labor in any given trade. They will tend to be fixed where the supply of a particular kind of labor and the demand for it are in

equilibrium. The rate at which wages will be fixed in any given case is partly determined, and more and more so, by the wills of the buyers and sellers of labor, says Mr. Ryan. "Supply will be restricted by a combination of laborers; demand, by a combination of employers."

Without going further into details, we see that the law of supply and demand is a complex one, hard to separate into simpler elements. A study of the relation of human services to human wants indicates that wages are determined, not by an iron and fixed law, as was formerly taught, but by knowable and largely controllable conditions and circumstances. The regulation of wages is, after all, a human affair, determined by men, not by inexorable law.

Moreover, the human part is largely a matter of motives, and we face a problem in social psychology. For instance, why do men who freely grant that labor should have a living wage, and who are able to guarantee such a wage, compete with each other in trying to get labor at the cheapest price, namely, at starvation rates? When men's wills become socialized, then, speaking *a priori*, labor will be assured of living wages.

While the underlying cause of less than living wages is to be found in anti-social human wills, two specific causes of the situation in the United States are: (1) Failure of wages to rise in harmony with prices, whereby a given wageworker is able to buy less and less economic goods than formerly; (2) the arrival of a large number of immigrants, who come

from countries where people exist at a point far below the American standard of efficiency. Thus the immigrant, with his low standard and low wage, takes the job from the American, who, in order to compete in the labor market, must lower his standard to that of the immigrant. Take the manufacture of clothing, for example, where it is evident "that native laborers have been practically driven from the field by foreigners with a lower standard of life." Many immigrants expect to return to Europe, and have no incentive to adopt the American standard of life. Their low standards enable them to accept almost any terms of employment at the expense of the American workman.

#### MINIMUM WAGES BOARDS

The next question is, What is being done in other countries to make living wages to all possible? In Victoria special wages boards have been constituted by law in certain of the oppressed trades. These boards were given the power to fix a minimum standard wage for the trade, for workers both in factory and outside, by the piece and by time. At first this act applied only to six sweated trades. In 1900 the law was widened, and immediately twenty-one more boards were at once constituted—many of them at the request of the employers in the trades concerned. To-day there are in Victoria fifty-one of these wages boards, administering the affairs of 67,000 working people.

Although there is no federal legislation on the subject, wages boards have now been adopted through-

out Australia, with the exception of Tasmania, and other methods have been supplanted. The members of the boards are appointed by the Parliament of Australia from time to time upon representation made to it by employers or employees, or on the reports of the officers of the factories department. Upon the adoption by both houses of a resolution, usually introduced by the Minister for Labor, for the appointment of a wages board, a bill is passed, stating that not less than four or more than ten shall sit on the board. Employers and employees then nominate by mail their respective representatives, from which list the Minister for Labor selects the board. Each member of the board must be, or must have been connected as an employer or employee with the trade for which the board has been constituted, while the chairman may be any disinterested person elected by the members. The wages boards do not sit for a district, but represent a given trade throughout the state.

In setting to work to determine what must be the standard minimum rate of wages in the given trade the board takes into consideration the nature, kind, and class of work, the manner in which the work is to be done, the age and sex of the workers, and any special conditions. It proceeds: (1) To ascertain as a question of fact the average rates paid by reputable employers to workers of average ability, (2) to fix a rate in no case exceeding the average so ascertained, (3) to refer the question of fixing the rate through the Minister for Labor to the court of industrial appeals for decision in cases where, in the

opinion of the board, the average rate so ascertained is not a reasonable minimum. The court of industrial appeals consists of one judge of the Supreme Court, assisted or not at his discretion by two assessors, one representing capital, the other labor. This court was established primarily as a court to which either side might take the wages boards' decisions for review and revision.

According to the 1900 Act, the chief inspector of factories has the power to grant to aged or infirm workers a license for twelve months at a time, to work for less than the prescribed rates, and he may also do the same for apprentices lacking full experience. The members of the boards are paid from public funds.

The Victorian law requires employers and employees to formulate by mutual agreement minimum conditions for their own trade, which can be changed as required, but which are for the time being in force. No employer is compelled to continue in business or to engage any workingman; but if he decides to do so, he must as a minimum comply with these conditions, in the same way that he must comply with a minimum in regard to factory sanitary laws. No workman is forced into employment or forbidden to strike for higher wages, but he is not allowed to engage himself for less than the minimum wage, in the same way that he is forbidden to accept less than the minimum sanitation. The law is enforced by factory inspectors by means of summary proceedings in the police courts.

The effect of the wages board system is not yet fully known. Employers find themselves forced to pay a standard wage to all their employees; hence, they are careful to make the laborers as productive as possible. They choose the most efficient—competition is centered upon efficiency. This result, however, has its dark side. It has tended to throw the less efficient out of employment and to make for evasion of the law. Through fear of not otherwise obtaining work, many laborers who may not be up to the standard represent themselves as disqualified by "age or infirmity" from earning the minimum wage. Others are said to contract for the legal rate, but return a part of their wages to the employer.

There are so many undetermined elements in the problem in Victoria that it is difficult to say how much credit wages boards deserve for the rise in wages, yet this may be said, that the wages boards are meeting with popular approval, that they fix minimum conditions in behalf of the classes that most need protection, that they put competition for labor on a free and level basis and give the honest employer an even chance with the unscrupulous employer of sweated labor, that wages respond more quickly to increased employer's profits than when labor must wait in order to press its demands by costly strikes.

Paul Kennaday further states that Victoria, after trying the *laissez faire* American way of watching industrial conflicts proceed from underpay and overwork to lockout and strike and unemployment and sweating, began to experiment with remedial meas-

ures; and now there is back of the wages boards a deep-rooted and widespread conviction that it is very clearly the duty of the state to interfere in industrial disputes, that the prevention of strikes, the regulation of pay, and the fixing of the hours of labor are obligations which the body of the citizens must take up through their constituted authorities.

Recently England has begun to test wages boards. The conditions there are complex and much more similar to the industrial situation in the United States than is that of Australia. In England, in 1908, a voluntary wages board was formed in the "fives and racquet" trade for the purpose of stamping out the sweating which exists in the home work connected with that trade. The ball itself is made in the factories by male labor, but is covered by women out-workers. Mr. Lyttleton, chairman of this voluntary wages board, says that the negotiations resulted in an increase of 75 per cent in the coverers' wages, which was agreed upon without compulsion.

This wages board had some extraordinarily favorable conditions: (1) A localized industry; (2) pressure of consumers, who largely would be willing to support a fair wage. The disadvantages were: (1) No power of legal compulsion; (2) since there were only three manufacturers concerned, there was the possibility of their combining together in demanding high prices without paying more to the coverers; (3) the danger that some new manufacturer might spring up at any time, hire sweated labor, and undersell.

On January 1, 1910, the new parliamentary statute



known officially as the Trades Boards Act of 1909 went into effect throughout England. By this measure wages boards are created charged with the duty of establishing minimum wage rules for piece and wageworkers in four of the sweated trades, namely: (1) Ready-made and wholesale "bespoke" tailoring, and any other branch of tailoring in which the Board of Trade considers that the system of manufacture is generally similar to that prevailing in the wholesale trade; (2) the making of boxes of paper, cardboard chip, or similar material; (3) machine-made lace; and (4) hammered chain-making, which is one of the proverbial sweated trades in England.

These boards are to be constituted according to regulations framed by the Board of Trade. They are to consist of an equal number of employers and of members representing workers. Women as well as men are eligible to membership. Home workers must be represented on all boards for the trades in which a number of home workers are engaged.

Six months after a wages board has given notice of a minimum wage the Board of Trade places it in effect. Fines are established in order to enforce the law. The fine is twenty pounds on summary conviction of not complying with a minimum wage order, and five pounds for each day that the offense is continued after conviction. The sum due the underpaid workman must also be paid. Laborers unable to work for full wages because of infirmity may be permitted to contract for less wages.



The wages board has two characteristics—elasticity and publicity. Instead of attempting to deal at once with the forty-odd industries, says Professor Holcombe (Harvard University), which are subjected to the Victorian Act, the British Act specifies four, selected from among the many sweated industries, in which the creation of wages boards, or, as the British Act names them, trade boards, is made mandatory. These trades were chosen in order that the legal minimum wage in England might be inaugurated under the conditions most favorable to the success of this experiment. According to the 1909 Act, the Board of Trade may extend the wages board system if it is satisfied that the rate of wages prevailing in a given trade is too low, and that circumstances favor the establishment of such a board. It is planned to extend the boards, if they are successful, to all the trades until the minimum wage becomes universal.

Social reformers in the United States are already beginning to consider seriously the application of the principle of a legal minimum wage to the problem of our sweated industries. As a result of an indorsement of wages boards by the International Conference of Consumers' Leagues at Geneva, Switzerland, September, 1908, our National Consumers' League created at its annual meeting in March, 1909, a special Committee on Minimum Wage Boards, which is drafting a bill to establish minimum wages boards in this country. Meanwhile the National Consumers' League is collecting data as to the variety of work done in

the tenements and the wages paid to the workers, and is educating the public.

Not many years ago mention of wages boards in the United States would not have been possible. Our republic was established at a time when the *laissez faire* philosophy was sweeping over Europe. This new economic theory was welcomed with eagerness by the American people and was incorporated in the organic law of the State and federal governments. In our Constitution there are certain general statements that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, except by due process of law. Only by an amendment to the Constitution could the representatives at Washington pass a law depriving an adult citizen of the freedom to buy and sell labor freely or regulate the employment of any class of the adult population, if the courts should decide that such regulation "might naturally and reasonably be applied to the whole population."

In the United States the laboring classes have been protected through legislation by the individual States. Proposed legislation for wages boards may proceed, therefore, through State legislation. This would lead to difficulty, to be sure, for the minimum wage determined upon might be considerably higher in one State than in a neighboring one. But such difficulties already exist in regard to other legal regulations of industry, such as those having to do with railway rates, factory arrangements, and hours of labor, and are not insurmountable. In regard to the minimum wages adopted in different States there would tend

to be a general approach to a uniform minimum throughout the country, below which scale wages would be illegal.

Mr. Lyttleton has stated the conditions under which wages boards might be favorably introduced: (1) A localized trade; (2) the absence of very great complications in manufacture; (3) the absence of acute foreign competition; (4) wages as only a small part of the total cost of production; (5) lack of strong opposition among the employers.

Our country is not yet ready for a minimum wage law. Professor Seager, of Columbia, who is strongly in favor of minimum wages boards, feels that we will not be ready for them until we devise machinery for effectively enforcing the labor regulations that we already have; and that until public opinion is convinced of the necessity of wages boards, and the State has a highly efficient labor department, the creation of such boards might result in a prejudice against them which would put us back instead of advancing us in that field.

### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Another way of assisting working people to obtain living wages is that which up to the present time has been more effective than any other—the labor-union method of collective bargaining and arbitration. According to reliable statistics, considerably more than 90 per cent of the readjustments of the terms of employment in Great Britain, for instance, is regularly accomplished by sliding scales, concilia-

tion, arbitration, and other peaceful forms of collective bargaining.

In the United States, by way of illustration, an increase of 13 per cent in wages was asked for about the middle of March, 1910, by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, with a membership, employed on five Western railways, involving a total mileage of 190,000 out of the 220,000 mileage in the whole country. The Brotherhood's board were persuaded to submit their questions to arbitration, and as a result, the men received an advance of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in wages. Mr. Warren Stone, of this union, declares collective bargaining is the wageearner's only hope of a decent living. He states that his organization had raised the pay of the body of locomotive engineers by \$17,000,000 in one year.

Again, it was announced (about May 1, 1910) that approximately 6,000 trainmen and conductors of the New York Central Railroad east of Buffalo would receive increases in wages averaging 30 per cent as a result of a decision by E. E. Clarke and P. H. Morrissey, arbitrators between the railroad and its employees. An extreme instance is the case of the Hebrew Typographical Union (No. 83), the organization of which had replaced a wage of about ten dollars per week by a minimum wage of twenty dollars per week.

But collective bargaining often fails and leads to costly strikes. Trade-unionism is limited in its power to obtain higher wages. In Great Britain, where labor organization has reached a much more complete

development than in the United States, "official estimates have never placed the percentage of organized wageearners above 25 per cent, even in those lines of industry in which organization is known to be possible."

Not only are the benefits of collective bargaining actually confined to less than one fourth of the wage-earners in the United States, but they have never been open to the workers in the sweated industries. Labor has not been successfully organized in scarcely any of the sweated trades. Little has been done in this country toward securing living wages for these poorest paid workers of all. The most urgent need is in behalf of those working people whose status is so low that they have not been or cannot be, for some time to come, effectually organized.

#### VALUE OF EDUCATION

This point leads directly to a discussion of the most general method of securing better wages, namely, education. The laborer must be taught how he may substitute saving for waste, economy for extravagance, independence for poverty. He must be taught to conserve his resources, physical and financial. Ignorance must be combated (1) by more appropriate educational methods for the illiterate already in this country, and (2) by more intelligent immigration restrictions. The very ignorance of many of the workers in the garment workers' strike in Chicago, which began about November 1, 1910, kept many of them from recognizing and accepting a

fair proposition when such a proposal was made to them. If it were possible (1) to educate the present class of sweated workers to the point where they would organize and present their needs through collective bargaining, and (2) to keep out those who by their ignorance and their numbers are complicating the wages situation, in a short time there would be no sweated industries and no need of a living wage discussion.

On the other hand, employers must get the workingman's point of view; they must be taught to perceive that the poorest, neediest man in the world, when he labors faithfully, renders a real service to the wealthiest man in the world, and that he is making a contribution to the world which mere wages cannot repay, that the shoveler of dirt in a construction camp who does his work well is making "a debtor of every man, woman, and child who later rides over that railroad track in comfortable coaches."

### INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE

A fourth method of improving the wage conditions in this country is that of industrial insurance. While somewhat indirect, it is doubtless the most important method of the four here mentioned. Industrial insurance as a program will be discussed in a later chapter. It must be said here, however, that the plan of industrial insurance is proving the most efficient means in Germany, for example, of solving the living-wage problem. The German plan of industrial insurance benefits directly and especially the underpaid

working people. For instance, every workman who receives less than \$480 per year is required by law to be insured against sickness and against invalidism and old age. Every workman receiving up to \$720 per annum in manufacture and agriculture is legally required to be insured against accident.

How does this plan work out? In one year, 1906, in Germany, according to Professor Henderson, the above-mentioned underpaid working people received the sum of \$63,840,000 as a result of being insured against sickness, \$34,368,000 as accident insurance, and \$39,840,000 as pensions from insurance against invalidism and old age.

Industrial insurance is not only a clear addition to the workingman's wages in so far as the premiums are paid by the employers, but it assists him in decreasing the outgo and in conserving the income. Further, this insurance guarantees to the workingman a certain steadiness of income which he cannot obtain so well in any other way. To the laborer who lives from day to day this steadiness of income through sickness and old age is a boon of tremendous importance. Is there sickness? The needs of his family are supplied by the insurance fund to which he (in company with his employer) has contributed during health. Has old age come? "A pension awaits the weary, time-honored soldier of industry." Professor Henderson says: "The necessity for providing industrial insurance has become acute. If the nation only knew the facts, there would be radical legislation within a short time "



## ACTION BY THE CHURCH

What can a church situated in a labor community do in this matter of helping underpaid workers? It can organize a strong study class. (1) Labor representatives will be glad to address the class, and meet with them for discussion of the various phases of the wage problem. (2) Men engaged in educational work may be invited to present the literature of the subject, describe the methods of solution used in other countries, and discuss these with reference to the situation in the United States or to the particular district in which the given church is located. (3) The class may take trips, under the direction of competent guides, through the various factories and plants which are nearest at hand. (4) After thorough discussion, the class may decide upon and announce a program of procedure suitable to the labor situation peculiar to its community; in other words, secure publicity for its matured ideas on the subject and effectively arouse public opinion. (5) The class may not only be the means of starting local measures for relief, but, by becoming representative of the public opinion of a whole community of voters, be able to influence legislation, and thus exercise a far-reaching influence. Information on the subject of a living wage can be secured by writing to the National Consumers' League, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York, and to the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington for bulletins containing related material.

When the immigration of poor-grade and under-standard labor is seriously restricted; when a policy

of education is applied to sweated laborers whereby they may reach trade-unions' standards and reap the advantages of collective bargaining; when sickness, accident, and old age insurance is made compulsory for all workers receiving less than \$500, for example; when a legal minimum wage is established and enforced; when capital learns to hobnob with labor; when the Church adopts a wide-awake social policy toward labor conditions; in short, when a working majority of human wills in any given group become completely socialized, then for that group there will be no living-wage problem.

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## IX

### THE PROTECTION OF THE WORKER

For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries, and mortality.

IF war were as deadly as making phosphorus matches, working in a steel mill, grinding forks, riding on railroads, working in mines, and grinding lead, battleships would soon be turned into ships of commerce and cannon into pruning hooks. The Russian-Japanese war cost the terrible total of 333,786 in killed and wounded; but we kill and wound over 200,000 more in this country every year. Our industrial life exacts the terrible toll of one in every 181 of our population, each year, to bleed or die for our comfort. Nine men in New York city meet a violent death every day in industry. Every sixty seconds, in this country, sends a workman bleeding to a surgeon, or his torn body to the undertaker. We kill every year enough people to make a city the size of Albany, Tacoma, or Peoria. In these piping times of peace we kill in four years some 80,000 more than all who fell in battle or died of wounds on both sides during the four years of our Civil War.

It will be impossible to view all the battlefields that make up this fearful slaughter, but we can see a few of

the many which cost us more lives every twenty days than were lost in battles during our war with Spain.

### THE NEED OF PROTECTION

We can follow the bloody trail of the railroads in this country because the Interstate Commerce Commission publishes a record of the lost and lacerated each year.

For the year ending 1907 the Commission recorded a total of 5,000 killed and 76,286 injured, or 81,286 sent out of our industrial life to increase the economic burdens of the families bearing the loss, and add to the sum total of our charitable funds needed to care for the dependents.

Miss Eastman, in "Working Accidents and the Law," tells us that in the city of Pittsburg in one year 125 men were killed on the railroads. But this is not the worst aspect of this tragedy of the wheels. Accidents are increasing each year.

In 1899 the railroads of this country employed 704,000 men. During this year 22,000 were killed and wounded, but in 1907, with 1,382,000 employees, 80,000 were killed and wounded. This shows that while there were not twice as many employed, yet there were more than three times as many killed and wounded. Allowing all differences in conditions and country, we kill three times as many and injure five times as many as England and Germany.

When we come to trace the black trail of the miner, the carnage of peace is no less ghastly than the railroads, though less spectacular.

Recently by an act coal mine accidents have been put under the supervision of the United States Geological Survey, in order that more accurate reports may be gathered as to the extent of the killed and injured in the mines of the various States.

Thirty States in the Union mine more than 450,000,000 tons of coal each year, but at a sacrifice of almost 3,000 lives and 4,000 persons wounded. In the recent report of coal mine accidents—Bulletin No. 333—we are told that in 1906 nearly 7,000 men were killed or injured, and that the total killed for the years 1890-1906 was 22,840.

This does not tell the whole story, for only fifteen of the thirty States keep a record of the killed and wounded. John Mitchell estimates that the yearly toll in killed and wounded is more than 11,000, and that in the anthracite region two are killed and five injured every working day of the year.

To make the facts more concrete, three men out of every thousand employed are killed, or five for every million tons of coal produced.

Two more facts make the matter more startling. First, the number of killed and injured in mines is steadily increasing. The report shows that while in 1895 two men were killed for every thousand tons mined, in 1906 three men were killed, thus showing that the increased number was not due to more production but to carelessness. The second fact discovered is that while accidents in mines in this country have been steadily increasing, in Europe the number has steadily fallen. The table below shows the num-

ber killed per thousand employed between the years 1901-1906.

France .....	0.91
Belgium .....	0.00
Great Britain .....	1.28
Prussia .....	2.06
United States .....	3.39

If we were as careful as Great Britain, we could save the lives of 915 American miners every year.

When we attempt to follow the tragedy of peace in the mills and factories in this country our way is more uncertain than in the mines, because less accurate statistics are kept and there is less governmental and State supervision.

The New York Bureau of Labor, in 1899, noted the accidents which occurred in the space of three months. Hampered as they were by the factory owners, they found that 1,847 out of 452,000 operatives were injured. This would be at least 7,388 for the year, or 16 per thousand. Upon this basis, according to Mr. Arthur Reeve, there are 115,000 accidents every year among the 7,000,000 men and women in the mechanical trades alone.

It is reasonable to suppose that this figure is hardly half of the real number of industrial accidents in mills. Miss Easton declares that in Allegheny County there are 70,000 employees in steel mills. During the year from June, 1906, to June, 1907, 195 men were killed. Upon the basis of the German statistics, which records that for every one killed there are eight wounded, we have the astonish-

ing total of 1,560 killed and injured out of a total of 70,000, or an average of more than four a day.

The burden of this reckless waste will be treated in another chapter. It is our task to look at some of the means which have been adopted to prevent accidents.

### METHODS OF PROTECTION

When the automatic coupler was introduced on the railroads of the country the accidents due to the coupling of the cars were reduced almost one third. After the block signals and safety devices had been put on one railroad the accidents decreased in one year from 2,097 to 1,209.

Mr. Edgar T. Davies, factory inspector for Illinois, says that in the year 1906, in the factories of Illinois, a hundred men were killed or crippled for life by the set screw which stands up from the surface of a rapidly revolving shaft. For thirty-five cents the screw could be set flush with the shaft, and no sleeve could be caught by it. That screw is being set.

In 1908 Congress authorized the establishment, under the Technologic Branch of the Geological Survey, of a number of stations to investigate the cause of mine accidents. The first station was opened at Pittsburg. The State Department also invited the leading mining experts of Europe to come over and advise us. This committee made recommendations which have recently been embodied in a federal law. The bill provides:

First, that all explosives be put in cartridges, and the amount to each man be limited.



Second, railroad tracks in mines be kept free from dust.

Third, in mines with 29 per cent of dust, locked safety lamps be provided.

Fourth, all new structure to be noncombustible.

Sixth, special schools be established to teach fire bosses, firemen, superintendents, and inspectors.

These safety devices have reduced the mortality in Europe two thirds, and there is every reason to believe that in this country, where mining is not so difficult, the percentage can be made even smaller.

The Steel Corporation has a corps of trained experts who devote all their time studying devices to prevent accidents. Out of 6,000 recommendations, 93 per cent have been carried out. Boilers are made more safe, rails are put on stairs, there are provided more windows for light, hoods are put on wheels and saws, cogwheels are covered, and signs of danger are put about the factory to warn men. These are but a few of the things that are being done under the stress of an aroused public opinion.

Before leaving this part of the subject it is quite natural to ask what Christian employers can do to reduce the slaughter in our factories.

In the first place, Christian men can obey the laws regulating industries. It is a notorious fact that men good in their family and personal life will either neglect the requirements of the law or willfully disobey the regulations and put stubborn obstacles in the way of investigation and inspection.

Second, the Christian employer can join the movement for better laws. If his excuse is that he cannot

meet competition, by putting into his factory expensive safety devices, he can encourage legislation, which would make it incumbent on his competitor, as well as himself, to provide for the safety of employees.

Third, a Christian employer could use the money spent in expensive litigation and caring for the wounded to install the latest devices for saving the limbs and lives of his employees.

### OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

By occupational diseases we mean the diseases which are contracted by workmen in the legal pursuit of their trades, which diseases reduce the working capacity of the laborer or ultimately result in death.

The Illinois Commission on Occupational Diseases reported that it found no less than eighteen which produced diseases of a more or less serious nature. In Illinois 14,000 workmen are employed in the brick, marble, stone, and glass industries. All of these trades produce diseases unless the workmen are protected. In the trades resulting in diseases through the action of dust, the Commission names the 65,000 men who work in the mines. Many thousand more work in factories where cotton, woolen, furs, hair, rags, and other dust-producing material are used. In all these trades disease is produced by the breathing in of the dust laden with bacteria.

Dr. Alice Hamilton, a member of the Commission, reports, after investigating the lead industries of the State, that lead poisoning was found among the

workers of thirty-three out of the "fifty-six establishments so far studied." One smelting lead plant, with a pay roll of 600, reports that every pay day, which is every two weeks, they lose from five to fifty per cent of their men, due, so the physicians say, to the dangerous character of the work. Of the fifty-six factories only one has an inspector whose duty it is to detect lead poison. Only two employ physicians to attend the sick. The men in the rest of the factories must shift for themselves and pay for the ravages of this disease.

In Europe regular medical inspection is required by law, and in England a rigid inspection keeps the percentage of poisoning below five among the regular workmen.

Bulletin No. 86, for the Bureau of Labor, lists thirty industrial poisons in the manufacture of which workmen are exposed to disease. A partial list will show the nature of the poison: Amyl and methyl alcohol, ammonia, aniline, arsenic, benzol, carbon dioxide, chlorine, chromium, formaldehyde, nitrous gases. Most of these poisons enter the body in the form of fumes and attack the membranes of the nose, throat, and lungs. It is impossible to know the extent of the ravages of these trades, for no accurate account is kept of the accidents, or disqualifications to workmen rendered by their use.

Some extent of the ravages of occupational diseases may be known when the State Board of Health for Massachusetts (1907) reports that in three of the largest mill towns of the State devoted to various dust

and fume industries from 21 to 33 per cent of the deaths were from tuberculosis.

It has been learned that in sixteen years 41 per cent of the deaths of the stonecutters at Quincy were due to lung troubles caused by the dust from stone-cutting.

The cutlery and tool industries are the most notoriously dangerous of trades. At Northampton 54 per cent of the grinders, during the last twelve years, have died from tuberculosis. Among all departments of the tool industry lung diseases have been responsible for 72 per cent of the deaths.

Leonard A. Parry makes the astonishing revelation that, while the general mortality among workmen in Sheffield, England, is 184 out of every 1,000 between the ages of twenty and thirty, in the fork-grinding trade the mortality was over 400 for the same ages. That is to say, it was almost four times as deadly as the general trades for the same city. Out of 61 fork-grinders, Parry declares, 35 died before the age of thirty, and 47 died before thirty-six. Not one of the 61 reached the age of fifty years. The same author declares also that while the mean death in the potters' district is fifty-four years, among the potters the age is forty-six. The mortality is very high also among the brass molders, silver workers, buffers, and platers. Mr. Helthaler declares that fifteen years is the average life of one of these workers, and that practically all die of consumption. The work is periodic because of sickness caused by the fumes and deadly dust.

The most loathsome occupational disease known to

industry is phosphorus poisoning, contracted in making matches. It has been known for many years that people who work in match factories contract a disease known as phosphorus necrosis, popularly called "phossy jaw." The fumes and particles of the phosphorus attack the teeth and gums. The gums become purple and swollen, teeth loosen and drop out, and jawbones slowly decay and pass away in a nauseating pus.

During the year 1909 detailed reports were secured from employees in fifteen different factories in the United States and it was found that 6,590 were working under conditions exposing them to the danger of phosphorus poisoning. Sixteen cases of poison were found by the agents of the government who visited these factories. An investigation of the homes of but three of the fifteen factories resulted in finding 82 cases. We have no reliable vital statistics of the ravages of this disease, but it is much wider than is known, for every effort is made by the employer, and often by the victims, to keep the extent of the disease from being known.

The destructive work of this disease is all the more to be condemned when it is known that with only about five per cent of increase in the cost of the manufacture the danger could be entirely eliminated. A harmless substitute is used in France. The holders of the patent right for the use of a harmless substitute in this country have recently canceled their patent in order that its use may be open to all manufacturers. In order, however, to prevent unfair competition, a

national law prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in matches is needed. Such a law was before the last session of Congress, but failed of action.

Europe, by an international agreement, has succeeded in abolishing the manufacture of the white phosphorus match. As early as 1872 Finland prohibited the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Denmark followed in 1874, France in 1897. Finally, in 1906, seven countries in Europe met in convention and signed an agreement to prohibit the manufacture, importation, and sale of matches containing the poison. Since then England and Austria have joined the convention. Even Japan, while the white paste is used, throws such restrictions about its use that the danger is much reduced.

### METHODS OF PREVENTION

We do not look for the total abolition of diseases due to occupation, but the mortality could be reduced, and in some trades it could be almost conquered.

The Sherman-Williams Paint Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, is but one illustration how mortality can be reduced even by private effort. In the dry color rooms of the factory, where lead poison was very frequent, and the average work period was a month, by personal attention to the habits of workmen, baths, good food, rest rooms, and frequent changes of clothing the mortality has been conquered, and men work continuously with no sickness. There are no strikes, and an increased efficiency in work is made.

Much could be done, and in places is being done, by systems of ventilation, wet grinding, a proper method of work, and instruction to workmen as to personal habits. This work should fall on factory owners. Ultimately they will see that the development of industry depends on the well-being of the employees.

This interest in the well-being of employees on the part of factory owners should be supplemented by the State and government. Besides factory inspectors and their assistants, the government or State should provide a physician, as in Germany, whose sole duty it is to study the nature of the occupation and the prevention of disease. Much also needs to be done for the worker himself, who too often by his careless habits brings on his own destruction. A general scheme of instruction in industrial schools ought to be maintained if the waste of life in our industries is to be curtailed.

What is needed in America is a special hospital and clinic for the study of occupational diseases. It seems strange that in America, with her famed philanthropies and wealth, some provision has not been made for such an institution. When we consider the fact that no less than 13,000,000 cases of sickness each year are caused by occupation, when we consider the enormous cost and money loss, and that at least one fourth could be prevented, one is astonished at our selfishness or our ignorance.

Italy has founded such a hospital at Milan, and surely in America there will soon be some response.



## CHURCH ACTIVITIES

In communities where there are factory laws the Church, through special committees, or through the Brotherhoods, could see to it that the laws are enforced. If there are no laws, a healthy and powerful public opinion could be built up which would demand such laws as to meet the conditions.

It would properly fall within the province of the churches to aid cities in establishing museums of safety devices such as are maintained in many cities. The Church could secure the services of the Red Cross Car, which car is equipped with all such devices for safety in factories. The car is at the service of factory owners.

The Church could also coöperate with social service committees in giving special exhibitions of safety devices, and of first aid to the injured. Such activities would help to dispel the suspicion that the Church has no interest in the problems of the toilers.

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## X

### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.

It is estimated that there are between 30,000 and 35,000 fatal industrial accidents in the United States every year. This raises the all-important question of this chapter:

#### WHO BEARS THE BURDEN?

The Pittsburg Survey investigated the cases of 526 killed by work accidents; 258 were married men; 470 children under sixteen years of age were left fatherless; 38 per cent of the single men were quite without dependents. One half of the families of the married men suffered the entire loss; that is, there was no compensation, or merely funeral expenses. One fourth received more than \$500. Sixty-five per cent of single men stood the entire loss. Seventeen per cent of the single men received more than \$500; 139 married men received \$74,305, while their total yearly wages was \$109,262. The total compensation paid to the widows was less than three fourths of their first year's income loss. The dependents of 149 were in Europe, and 19 families were returned to their native land.

Thus 43 per cent of fatal accidents leave a poverty problem in Europe.

In Erie County, Pennsylvania, 211 cases were examined and it was found that 97 of them received nothing, and the remainder from \$500 to \$1,500. In Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, out of 27 men who had lost eyes and limbs, 11 of them received nothing. The same commission in Allegheny found 6 men who were totally disabled, and 3 of them received nothing; also 27 men who were partially disabled, and found that 12 of them received nothing. Another investigation found that in 329 cases of temporary disability the total loss of income was \$37,677, while compensation was \$6,719.

The New York Commission reported 236 fatal cases. To more than one half no compensation above funeral expenses was paid. In 1,040 temporary disability cases 44 per cent did not even receive medical expenses from the employers. The Wisconsin Commission reported 306 injury cases. Less than one third received anything more than medical expenses, while in 51 death cases only one third of the families were paid more than \$500. The dependents of 42 killed in the Carnegie Steel Works received from nothing to \$2,000. Only two received \$2,000. Seventy-four per cent did not receive over \$500. The Illinois Commission reported 614 fatal accidents, 281 of which were settled out of court for \$321,451, and 204 in court for \$32,742; the remainder had suits pending. The average is low. The compensation paid to the victims of the Cherry mine disaster comes like an oasis in a

dry desert. The company paid \$1,800 to each. To this was added \$87,240 in private contributions. But if the laws of many European countries had been in operation in this country, the families would have received more than double this amount.

These cases prove that the injured bear far more than their share of the burden of disability. It is estimated that 20 to 25 per cent of accidents are due to the fault of the employee, 15 to 20 per cent to that of employer, and 50 to 55 per cent to necessary risk.

Figures cannot give us the amount of suffering and grief, blasted hopes and dwarfed lives. We can, however, estimate financial loss, and count the 20,000 families and more that are annually reduced to poverty by industrial accidents. One half of these face the situation bravely by taking boarders, and by the women and children going to work. This means that lower standards of living are thrust upon 100,000 people annually. And the pathetic thing of it all is that this slag pile of humanity is increasing, and this number of derelicts of human society grows larger every year. But light is breaking—"It is day-break everywhere."

### A RUINOUS POLICY

The reason disabled workmen and their dependents are not paid more is because of the ruinous policy the American manufacturers have followed. They do not insure their workmen, but, rather, insure themselves against having to pay damages. They pay high rates, ranging from 75 cents to \$9 on \$100 of wages. In

eleven years, from 1894 to 1905, inclusive, the liability companies received in premiums \$99,959,076, and paid out in compensation \$43,599,498. Out of this compensation, the injured paid from 10 per cent to 75 per cent to the lawyers and the courts. During 1906-08, nine of the principal companies had 414,681 cases for damage, but only 52,427 were able to collect. Figures were taken from ten companies showing premiums paid in to be \$23,523,585, and compensations paid out to be \$8,559,795.

There are six objections to this system: 1. Only a small proportion of workmen receive damages. 2. It is wasteful. In 1907, 307 New York firms, employing 125,153 men, paid for insurance \$255,153; \$192,538 was paid to the liability companies; \$13,000 was paid to employees' benefit associations; \$49,250 for wages, funerals, and compensations. New York city spends annually \$3,600,000 to try injury cases, which place \$900,000 in the hands of the injured. A railroad attorney admitted that in a case tried in Minneapolis it cost his client \$6,000 to head off a \$5,000 verdict. 3. It involves delay in the courts. 4. It breeds antagonism between employee and employer. 5. The uncertainty of rights and obligations involves suffering to the workman and hardships upon the employers. 6. The antagonism of interest retards development of measures to prevent accidents.

### THE COMMON LAW

A glance at the common law under which a workman has been compelled to recover shows the diffi-

culties under which he labors. The common law is as follows: The employer must provide—a reasonably safe place to work; reasonably safe tools and appliances, and be reasonably careful in hiring safe agents and servants. The employer has three defenses: 1. Contributory negligence; if the workman is proven neglectful he can recover nothing. 2. Fellow servant rule; if injured by negligence of a fellow servant, the worker is barred from recovery. 3. Assumption of risk; the employee assumes and consents to the ordinary and obvious risks.

The following States have abrogated the fellow servant rule either by general statute or in particular industries: Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Texas, Wisconsin. In the following States the fellow servant rule is modified without being abrogated: California, Mississippi, Oregon, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia.

#### PRIVATE COMPENSATION SCHEMES

Great corporations like the International Harvester Company, and the United States Steel Corporation have long recognized the justice of the claims of the disabled upon the employer for support during the period of disablement. Without waiting for laws, they have worked out schemes for compensation which are now in active operation. They welcome legislation upon the subject, and will perfect their plans accordingly. The action of these two great corpora-



tions has done much to force the question of social insurance home to the employers of this country.

The International Harvester Company has provided the best private scheme now in operation for compensation. It is as follows, leaving out the details: 1. In the case of death, the worker receives three years' average wages, not less than \$1,500 nor more than \$4,000. 2. For loss of hand or foot, one and one half year's average wages, not less than \$500 nor more than \$2,000. For loss of both hands or feet, or one foot and one hand, four years' wages, but not less than \$2,000. For loss of one eye, three fourths of a year's wages. Loss of both eyes, four years' average wages. The company pays one fourth wages during the first thirty days of disability, and this is increased to one half wages if the employees have paid from six to ten cents per month. If disability continues, one half wages will be paid for 104 weeks. In no case shall benefit exceed \$20 per week. 3. For total disability, an annual pension is paid equal to 8 per cent of the death benefit which would have been payable had the accident resulted in death.

The Harvester Company also pays \$50,000 a year into an employees' benefit association, besides paying the running expenses. Membership is voluntary. Those who have charge of the administering of these funds believe that it is working great good in bringing the men and the company together.

The National Association of Employers announced early in 1910 that it had inaugurated a mutual insurance scheme in shops operated by the Association,

by which its members may secure insurance covering sickness or accidents at a cost of \$1 per month. The rates of benefit vary from \$20 to \$60 per month, according to the class of employment.

The National Civic Federation and the American Federation of Labor are actively engaged in a system of education and agitation, and are also endeavoring to draft bills that will stand the tests of all the courts.

### PROPOSED FEDERAL LEGISLATION

The first bill introduced into the Sixty-first Congress was one providing for compensation to be paid to all persons injured in occupations and trades subject to the regulative powers of Congress. A substitute law was offered, but did not become a law. A joint resolution was, however, passed, and approved by the President, providing for a thorough investigation of the subject of employers' liability and workmen's compensation. The committee is to report not later than December, 1911. The report that accompanied the resolution stated that the system of dealing with accidents under the common law was long since outgrown and must be abandoned, that practically every civilized industrial nation in the world has discarded this old system, based on the fault of the worker, and substituted a system under which the industry bears the burden of relieving the distress of its injured workers practically without litigation. President Taft in a speech said: "I am hopeful indeed that before many years have passed we shall be able to adopt a system by which there shall be settled

promptly, on rules specified with the same degree of certainty that they are specified in an insurance policy, how much a man shall receive for an injury, proportionate to the wages that he gets and proportionate to the disabling character of the injury." Mr. Roosevelt makes a similiar statement: "There is no sound economic reason for distinction between accidents caused by negligence and those which are unavoidable. Payment for injuries ought to be automatic instead of a matter for lawsuit. Workmen ought to receive a certain definite and limited compensation for all accidents in industry, irrespective of negligence. It is neither just, expedient, nor humane, it is revolting to judgment and sentiment alike, that the financial burden of accidents should be thrust upon the sufferers who are least able to bear it."

### ACTION BY STATES

Commissions to draft workmen's compensation bills are at work in Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, Ohio, and Wisconsin, and their reports will come before the Legislatures of those States in 1911. The New York Commission reported in 1910, and a bill covering extra-hazardous trades was passed. Montana has a compensation law for coal miners and washers, and Ohio has an advanced employers' liability law.

These commissions have worked in conference, and are agreed upon the following principles: Compensation must cover all employments and all persons in employment. It must operate irrespective of em-

ployee's or employer's negligence, except where injury is self-inflicted for the purpose of recovery, and then the burden of proof is placed on the employer. Temporary disability is to be paid for in installments; permanent disability and death by installments with the right to commute with consent of the proper authorities. Employees shall not be required to contribute to the fund.

Some of the bills proposed are said to provide "elective compensation," some "compulsory compensation," and some "compulsory insurance." They vary in the scale of compensation provided. Copies of them can be procured from the secretaries of the respective States, and a comprehensive digest of their features can be found in *The Survey* of March 4, 1911.

#### ACTION OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

For over a century Europe has had some form of compensation laws. Germany took the lead in 1884, and Austria in 1887. The earliest compensation law applied only to mining, then followed navigation, and then railroad transportation. The following list shows the development in Europe: Norway, 1894; Finland, 1895; Great Britain, 1897; Denmark, 1898; Italy, 1898; France, 1898; Spain, 1900; New Zealand, 1900; South Australia, 1900; Netherlands, 1901; Greece, 1901; Sweden, 1901; Western Australia, 1902; Luxemburg, 1902; British Columbia, 1902; Russia, 1903; Belgium, 1903; Cape of Good Hope, 1905; Queensland, 1905; Hungary, 1907; Transvaal; Alberta, 1908; Quebec, 1909.

These countries present three types of compensation: 1. Systems of pure compensation, in which the employer must provide a compensation according to a scale specified in the law without any guarantee that the compensation will be forthcoming when needed. 2. Systems in which the law establishes the responsibility of the employer and compels him to take out insurance in recognized private institutions or to furnish a guarantee. Finland, Italy, and the Netherlands have such laws. 3. Systems in which the law requires the employer to insure in a specified manner or in a specified institution. Austria, Germany, Hungary, Luxemburg, and Norway are in such a group.

In a few countries, of which Great Britain is conspicuous, the workman is given the right to elect whether he will demand redress under the compensation law or under liability laws. In Sweden the compensation received does not deprive the workman of any rights under the old liability legislation for any damages in excess of the amount of compensation received.

The development of compensation has proceeded in the following way: 1. In free and voluntary associations of workmen, entirely unregulated by law. 2. In regulation by law, either compulsory for all, or optional with classification of societies into recognized and unrecognized. 3. Regulations combined with government assistance. 4. Compulsory insurance, with and without guaranty.

The best systems are those of Germany, England, and France. Their scale of compensation is practically

the same. The German system involves contributions from employers, employed, and the State. The English system places the entire cost of compensation upon employers. The French system is perhaps the most liberal, due to the superior commissions of that country, which have looked after the welfare of the toilers. The details of these systems can be found in the Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor.

### OLD-AGE PENSIONS

Closely linked with the question of compensation for industrial accidents is the question of provision for the old age of wageearners. Happily for us, old-age poverty is less conspicuous in the United States than it is in Europe. The Massachusetts Commission on Old-Age Pensions reports that we have in that State 8.5 paupers to every 1,000, as compared with 24.2 per 1,000 in Great Britain; and 31.7 paupers over sixty-five years of age for every 1,000, as compared with 173 in Great Britain. It would be safe to conclude that fully 60 per cent of wageearners do not get a sufficient daily wage to save or carry adequate insurance. Mrs. Moore investigated 200 families in New York, and found that 174 of them carried just enough insurance to save the disgrace of a pauper's grave. Mr. Chapin also investigated 318 families, and found that only 18 of them carried insurance as high as \$500.

Foundations are being laid for a system of old-age pensions in this country. The railroads have done

something. As early as 1884 the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had a pension system in operation. The Chicago and Northwestern, the Grand Trunk, the Delaware, the Lackawanna, the Illinois Central, the New York Central, and other lines are providing pensions for their employees. In 1907 the Atchison, Topeka and Sante Fe put in operation the finest pension scheme in the United States. Employees who reach the age of sixty-five are eligible, and also those who have been incapacitated from any cause incident to their employment. The highest pension paid is \$75 per month, and the minimum is \$20—this without any cost whatsoever to the employee.

Between twenty and thirty of the largest industrial corporations in the country have also adopted pension systems. Such corporations as the International Harvester Company, the United States Steel Corporation, the American Steel and Wire Company, the Standard Oil Company, the Western Electric Company, and many others are planning to put old-age pension systems into effect. Large banking firms, like the First National, of Chicago, have pension systems. It is true that the employees pay a small per cent of their wages into many of these firms, but the employers supplement this, so that the employee gets back far more than he puts in.

The Massachusetts Saving Bank Insurance System is paving the way for cheap life and old-age insurance for the laborer. This has been in operation for four years, and promises a dividend of almost nine per cent to the policyholders, which will probably be in-



creased. The old line companies are working upon new legislation that will enable them to write this group of policies just as cheaply.

Some of the professions are taking up the question of provision for old age. In 1900 there were only five American universities giving retiring allowances to their professors. Since the Carnegie Foundation was established sixty-three colleges have been placed upon the list. In New York city 16,000 secondary school-teachers can now look forward to substantial pensions. Any teacher who has served twenty years and is disabled is eligible, and after thirty years without disability. The teachers pay 1 per cent, and this is supplemented by 5 per cent from the liquor licenses. All of the leading denominations are providing funds for annuities for the old preachers.

A few trade-unions have started to pay pensions. A member of the International Typographical Union after a continuous membership for twenty years, having reached the age of 60, draws a pension of \$4 per week.

### IN OTHER COUNTRIES

In several countries old-age pensions are provided by the government. Germany has a joint scheme in which the employer pays one half of the premium, and the employee the other half. The government then contributes \$11.90 per year to each annuitant. The workman is insured in one of five classes, and can be raised to a higher class by paying the extra premiums. The average pension paid is not large, \$38.83 per year,

the largest being \$57.50 per year. It must, however, be remembered that the payments are also small, ranging from three and one half cents per week in the first class, and increasing with each class to eight and three quarter cents in class five.

Denmark, New Zealand, and Australia have also adopted old-age pension schemes. In New Zealand, with a population of 1,000,000, it cost \$1.70 per capita to pay 13,569 persons a pension of \$1,626,000. It would cost the United States, on the same basis, \$161,710,367—a little less than our present old soldiers' pension. There is at least a suggestion in this, that as fast as these annuitants die the money be used for other aged persons, for most of the pension money has become an old-age pension. Great Britain passed her Old-Age Pension Bill in 1908. Under this law 667,000 persons qualified during the first year. This means that more than 50 per cent of the population over seventy years of age were destitute. Pensions are given to those whose income does not exceed \$157 per year. The allowance is very small, only \$1.25 per week. The expenditure amounted to \$40,000,000 the first year. It must be remembered that all the money paid out for relief to most of these applicants is offset by the pension.

In the United States there has not yet been any serious discussion of the old-age pensions as a government policy. Our tendency is toward private action. Yet the question of provision for the old age of wage-earners is fast becoming a national problem in whose solution the State must take some part.

## ACTION BY THE CHURCH

The great need of the hour is for the Church to be fully informed as to the conditions that exist. The charge has been rightly brought that the Church is not solving the problems of capital and labor, because her leaders have not understood them. Information is what is needed, and then the practical application of the knowledge gained to the problems at hand.

Put every public man running for office on record as to his stand upon these great questions. Work for him if he rings true, against him if evasive or false. Urge the passage of bills that protect the wage-earner. Call meetings for this, if necessary, through men's clubs and brotherhoods. Educate the community regarding pending or needed legislation. If the pastor is ignorant, let interested laymen loan him literature. On the other hand, let the pastor bring these matters of workmen's compensation and employers' liability to the attention of the laity. This is one of the burning questions of the hour, and is demanding the best thought of statesmen and labor leaders.

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## XI

### CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions.

THERE are three methods, in general, of adjusting strained relations between workmen and their employers. First, the relation may be dissolved. In this case the workman quits work, or the employer discharges. Second, the employees may attempt to enforce their demands by striking, or the employer may resort to the lockout. Third, the two parties may come together in conference for the purpose of reaching a settlement by conciliation, or they may refer their differences to arbitration.

Conciliation consists in bringing together two opposing parties in such a manner as to cause them to reach a settlement of their differences between themselves by peaceable negotiations. When this method is successful the need of arbitration is removed. When arbitration is voluntary it must usually be preceded by such a degree of conciliation as is necessary to induce the parties at variance to submit their case to arbitration.

By arbitration in industrial disputes is understood the adjudication and authoritative settlement of dis-

putes between workmen and their employers. It is important to note that in conciliation the two opponents, though brought together and aided by a third party, work out their own solution to their problem between themselves. In arbitration they are required to submit to a decision framed and imposed upon them by a third party. We shall be prepared to find, therefore, that conciliation, where possible, is always to be preferred. Its results are much more likely to commend themselves to the sentiments of the disputants, and to represent, therefore, a final settlement. Decisions rendered through arbitration are often unsatisfactory to one party, and not infrequently to both. The experience of various nations in the endeavor to bring about industrial peace through governmental agencies for conciliation and arbitration will now be considered.

### THE EXPERIENCE OF ENGLAND

Ever since the close of the Middle Ages, when serfdom began to break up, and the system of wagelabor began to prevail, the need of some regulation of industrial disputes has been felt. The first great occasion came with the "Black Death." This plague so reduced the population of England that not enough laborers were left to carry on industry. The effect was registered in rapidly rising wages. It is possible that in the enthusiasm of their success the working people became extreme in their demands, or perhaps the employers, long accustomed to cheap and docile labor, became unduly alarmed and offended. At

any rate, the government, in which the wage-earning class had no representation, issued edicts and statutes enjoining the laborers to accept the same rate of wages that had prevailed before the plague. This attempt to fix wages by government fiat was made ineffectual by the employers themselves. In their eagerness to secure help to care for their overripe crops and other pressing work, they outbid each other and exceeded the legal wage scale.

The method next tried was that of fixing wages from time to time by act of Parliament and by the summary decisions of judges. This plan was a part of English law from 1389 to 1824. In 1603 a law was passed providing for "arbitrations" in certain commercial disputes. In 1701 a provision was made for an adequate hearing of the workingmen's side of the case before the two justices who acted as arbiters. In 1824 Parliament did away with wage-fixing by act of Parliament and by courts, and passed a law providing for voluntary arbitration in which the workingmen should have equal representation with the employers. Though this legislation indicates progress in the grasp of sound principles, no results of any importance flowed from it. A long period of practical inactivity followed, until, in 1896, Parliament passed an act authorizing the English Board of Trade to examine, compulsorily if necessary, the causes and circumstances of any labor dispute, and to take steps for the establishment of voluntary or private boards of conciliation and arbitration in trades where they do not already exist. Experience under this act has been



such as to indicate that, while the method of voluntary arbitration by a body authorized by the State is not ineffectual altogether, it is far from adequate. According to official reports, there were during the years 1896-1901 3,584 strikes in England. Of these the English Board of Trade acted upon only 113, of which it succeeded in settling 70.

### THE EXPERIENCE OF FRANCE

France has met with considerable success in the arbitration of disputes arising concerning the interpretation of existing contracts. The work has been and is being accomplished through "councils of experts," which may be described in the words of Adams and Summer ("Labor Problems"), "These councils are primarily labor courts, empowered also to act as boards of conciliation, and charged with certain unimportant administrative duties. They consist of an equal number of workmen and employers, elected at general elections of the respective classes; and within each council there are two divisions—a special bureau of conciliation and a general bureau of arbitration. The special bureau consists of one employer and one employee, who sit at least once a week, endeavor to bring about informal settlements in labor disputes, and are empowered to render preliminary decisions. If the preliminary decision is not accepted, the case goes to the arbitration bureau, which is usually composed of three employers and three employees, and the decision of this branch is final unless the sum involved exceeds 200 francs, in which event an appeal

is made to a higher tribunal. Proceedings before both bureaus are exceedingly informal, disputants are not allowed to be represented by counsel, and the costs cannot in any case exceed 50 francs. The jurisdiction of the councils is limited. They have no control over the conclusion of new contracts, and they cannot interfere in strikes or disputes about future terms of employment. . . . They cannot settle strikes, but can and do prevent strikes by adjusting the minor grievances and soothing the petty resentments which, when not settled, rankle in the minds of workingmen, accumulate, and constitute the fuel upon which the strike feeds." In 1898 the councils handled the large number of 50,887 cases, of which 41 per cent were conciliated by the special bureaus, 13 per cent arbitrated by the general bureaus, and 39 per cent withdrawn by the parties during the proceedings.

It should not be overlooked that the arbitration described above, and which is so successful, is the arbitration of points in dispute concerning *existing* contracts, and does not have to do with disputes concerning new contracts. For this latter class of cases France adopted a conciliation and arbitration act in 1892. The execution of this law is placed largely in the hands of the justices of the peace, who are directed to use their influence to settle threatening disputes and strikes. During the ten years ending with 1902 about 10 per cent of the strikes which occurred in France were settled under this law. More than five times as many disputes were settled by conciliation as by arbitration. As Adams and Sumner remark, this result is charac-

teristic of the relative utility of conciliation and arbitration the world over. In the percentage of cases actually settled by both methods, however, France is far ahead of the United States and England.

### THE EXPERIENCE OF THE UNITED STATES

In the United States two federal laws for the regulation of government interference in industrial controversy have been enacted. One of these was passed in 1888, the other in 1898. Both are limited in their scope to interstate commerce. The law of 1898 repealed the earlier act and is still in force. It provides (1) for mediation by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Commissioner of Labor upon the request of either party, and (2) for voluntary arbitration, but with awards enforceable by process of law. There has been no application of this law. The federal government has had practically no part as such in the actual work of conciliation and arbitration. In 1894 it conducted an investigation into the great Pullman strike, but this was done after the dispute was practically over. It published an elaborate history of the case. When the anthracite coal strike was waging in 1902, and when the comfort, business, and safety of the whole nation were imperiled, President Roosevelt made repeated efforts to induce the two parties to the trouble to "meet upon the common plane of the necessities of the public," and to adjust their difficulties. To this proposition the miners at once acceded, but it was not until after the difficulty had been prolonged much longer that the

operators agreed to accept a court of arbitration, whose award was accepted by both sides. The very valuable work of the President in this strike was, however, wholly voluntary with him, and fell completely outside of the provisions of the law.

Some sort of conciliation and arbitration laws have been written on the statute books of more than half the States of the Union. These laws fall into three classes: (1) Those which aim merely to encourage local and private conciliation; (2) those clothing the Commissioner of Labor with some authority to intervene in labor disputes with a view to aiding toward a settlement; (3) those providing for a more or less permanent and specialized State Board of Arbitration. Only nine of the States which have these laws have made any effort to enforce them, and all of these fall in the third class. This argues the value of a permanent Arbitration Board. Somewhat notable results have been accomplished in Massachusetts, and something has been done in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and New York. In Massachusetts during the years 1894-1900 there were 516 strikes and lockouts. Of these the State Board of Arbitration considered 232, of which 53 were settled by arbitration and 72 by conciliation. The number settled by both means amounted to about 24 per cent of all. Most of the cases settled by the board in Massachusetts are in the boot and shoe industry. The reason of most weight in this is that the boot and shoe trade has a large place in the industry of the State, and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is very strong in Massa-

chusetts. We have here an illustration of the principle that it is only when both sides feel themselves to be somewhere nearly equal that arbitration or conciliation is likely to appear. When one side feels itself greatly superior it will be inclined to win its fight on the basis of its greater strength alone. For this and other reasons it is desirable that labor and capital should both be organized, and that their strength should be close enough to an equality to enforce mutual respect.

The testimony of W. O. Reed, president of the Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration, is that the great majority of the cases in which the board figures are conciliated. Arbitration is seldom resorted to. Whenever a case of importance arises the board visits the locality, obtains personal interviews, hears both sides, and offers suggestions which generally look toward a conference at that time or later, according to the temper of the parties. "Personal contact with each of the parties," says Mr. Reed, "patient, unceasing endeavors in spite of all obstacles and in the face of discouraging failures, is the price of success in bringing the parties together. After the first suspicions are allayed—suspicions that the other party has been instrumental in bringing the board into action—both sides uniformly receive us with courtesy and are willing to give us an audience. It is remarkable to what degree men are softened by suggestions when they have confidence in the fairness of the maker of them. In many cases, when we have won the confidence of both sides, we are in a position to weaken the animosities and to bring the parties nearer

together. Unless some question of principle, real or fancied, intervenes, they will come quite together." Arbitration is entirely voluntary in Massachusetts, as it is also in all the other States with laws upon the subject.

It will be seen that, with the possible exception of Massachusetts, nowhere in our country do the people look to the government in any very earnest way to assist in maintaining a condition of harmony and good will between the workers and their employers. Here the sense of personal independence and individualistic notions of society are strong. Many employers feel that their business is in no way the affair of the public nor of their employees, but that it is wholly their own, and, accordingly, mediation, whether at the hands of the government or of private parties, is rejected as meddlesome interference. There is a strong public sentiment which feels that if employers and their workmen are bound to quarrel, it is their own affair. Not until the American public experiences a somewhat thoroughgoing change of heart in relation to this matter may we expect a great deal of progress in conciliation and arbitration in this nation.

#### THE EXPERIENCE OF NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA

New Zealand has been widely advertised as "a country without strikes," the cause of which is affirmed to be the compulsory arbitration law in effect there since 1895. It is doubtless true that this has been an important factor in promoting industrial harmony, and yet it is also true that the years following 1895

were years of business prosperity. A rising market has been favorable to higher wages, and nearly all of the awards have been on the side of the workers. It is also true that in the two years before the adoption of the arbitration act only four unimportant strikes were recorded in the colony. On the other hand, immediately prior to 1908 a good deal of dissatisfaction with the existing law appeared, and there were several large strikes. The result was a reconstruction of arbitration legislation in that year, attempting to eliminate defects that experience had disclosed. On the whole, however, it is true that, while there are extreme partisans for and against the law, it is cherished in the prevailing sentiment of the country as a worthy success. The working people have always been for it, while the employers, once indifferent and then hostile, have come to a great extent to see its value.

A description of conditions in New Zealand will be sufficiently typical of that in Australia also. The principle in both cases is the same, and the differences are administrative only. The New Zealand law provides for both conciliation and compulsory arbitration. Before either workers or employers may enjoy the benefits of the law they must be legally incorporated, the minimum number of employers in such a corporation being three and that of the workers being fifteen. The latter are registered as an industrial union, strictly controlled as to membership, place of meeting, conduct of business, and in other like ways. To this the unions make little objection. It is



worth while noticing that this arbitration system bases itself on organized labor, making it almost legally compulsory, and entirely so for those workmen who wish to benefit by the arbitration legislation. It is impossible to imagine such a principle gaining recognition in American law or running the gantlet of our courts.

When a case requiring attention arises, any interested party may apply to the commissioner of conciliation for the convening of a council of conciliation. Each council is created as the need arises, the employers and the employees each nominating one, two, or three representatives. If the case is not settled by this body, it passes to the court of arbitration, which has final authority. The awards of the court are enforceable by fines, especially heavy in lines of business supplying immediate and vital public needs, such as gas, electric light and power, water, milk for domestic use, meat, coal, transportation, and other like commodities.

The effect of the law and its enforcement has been to minimize strikes and to benefit employers by a uniform standard of hours and wages, putting them upon an equal plane in competition against each other. This is important, since it forces the exceptional, unscrupulous employer, who undersells the rest in the market by forcing undue hardship upon his work people, to comply with a higher standard. By this means the conscientious employer is enabled to make better conditions for his work people than he could without the law. It is claimed that, under the law, the sweating system has been eradicated in New

Zealand, to the especial improvement of the lot of the women workers. Even the opponents of the law agree that in these respects it has been a success, and certainly this is great gain. As far as wages are concerned, the result seems to be that, after preventing gross underpayment and sweating, the law has encouraged wages to follow the natural upward tendency, although under this system wages respond more quickly to the increased profits of employers than where the workers must wait to press their demands by costly strikes. The cost and waste of strikes and lockouts are also saved. The effect is also to raise the wages of the lower paid and unskilled as compared with the skilled. Skilled labor receives in nominal wages something less than skilled labor in America, while unskilled labor receives a little more than the corresponding class here.

#### THE EXPERIENCE IN CANADA

The best law in the world on our subject is that now operating in Canada. It avoids at once the impotence of wholly voluntary arbitration and the objectionable features of compulsion. It wisely conserves the liberty of workmen and employers and at the same time constrains them to peaceable settlement, much to their own and the public's benefit. The essence of the law is compulsory submission to investigation and conciliatory overtures before launching upon a strike. The Canadian Industrial Disputes Act was enacted in 1907, and provides that "it shall be unlawful for any employer to declare or cause a lock-

out, or for any employee to go on strike on account of any dispute prior to or during a reference of such dispute to a board of conciliation and investigation." Employers and employees must give at least thirty days' notice of proposed changes in hours or wages. Prior to or pending inquiry all strikes or lockouts are forbidden under penalties ranging from \$100 to \$1,000 per day in case of the employers, and from \$10 to \$50 per day in case of employees, and from \$50 to \$1,000 for anyone inciting to strike or lockout. The government does not assume the responsibility of prosecution, but provides legal machinery which any aggrieved party may set in motion. The value of the law, it is considered by many, would be improved if the government undertook directly to punish violations. The law applies to public and quasi-public industries only. Either party may apply for a board of conciliation. The board, when constituted, consists of one person selected by each of the contestants and a third person selected by the Minister of Labor.

One of the first cases to come under the law was that of the machinists of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1907. The workmen applied for a board of conciliation. Three sessions were spent in investigation, at the end of which the board had succeeded in allaying the irritation felt by both parties to the dispute and in bringing them into a mutual sympathetic understanding. The resulting agreement was a compromise, though, as the chairman stated in his report, "no attempt was made to settle difficulties on the easy but demoralizing principle of splitting differences.

Every attention was given to deciding each question on its merits." Later in the same year the Grand Trunk Railway took the initiative in referring to conciliation a dispute with the locomotive engineers of the company that had been the subject of almost daily but fruitless conferences for over two months. Here, again, the deliberations of the board were crowned with success.

On the other hand, not all strikes are prevented. The machinery of the act was set in motion to settle a dispute in the coal mines of Springhill, Nova Scotia, in 1907. A settlement was not reached, however, and a strike of three months followed. Still other cases of failure might be cited, the most recent of which was the strike of the trainmen on the Grand Trunk Railway in July, 1910, in which the road was tied up for some days. The cause of the difficulty in this case was the obstinacy of the railroad officials in rejecting any form of conciliation. However, the railroad company finally yielded, and a settlement was reached under the provisions of the act. The Minister of Labor does not await passively for one of the parties to a dispute to call him into action, but in many cases he or his agents visit the field where a disruption is likely and explain the working of the act to both sides, if necessary, and point out its advantages.

At first the law was regarded with much suspicion in labor circles, especially among the railway unions. The practical workings of the conciliation boards, however, soon dissipated this feeling. In September, 1907, the Trades and Labor Congress at Winnipeg,

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representing a large number of unionists, heartily indorsed the measure, and by a vote of three to one adopted a report recommending the extension of the operation of the act to all industries.

### WHAT THE CHURCH MAY DO

1. The Church may promote the friendly and sympathetic contact of the working and the business classes in the ordinary life of the church. It may also attempt to educate each class in the point of view and in the conditions that control in the industrial conduct of the other class. The spirit of aloofness should be bravely and wisely battled against, and the truth impressed that personal merit and nobility are not confined by class lines. The primary importance of this work stands out strongly when it is seen that the success of conciliation and arbitration depends less upon law than it does upon the possession of the spirit of democracy, of fairness, and of intelligent sympathy by the parties at variance.

2. The Church may take the pains to become acquainted with the industrial conditions of its own locality. It should know whether the people working about it enjoy wages and conditions sufficiently favorable to make wholesome human living possible to them. Without such information the Church will not know how to act when industrial disputes arise.

3. When actual outbreaks are threatened, or actually take place, the Church may officially undertake to mediate between employer and employees. Efforts may be made to secure conciliatory conferences and

agreements to arbitrate if conciliation fails to do the whole work. Special arbitration boards for particular cases have been found more successful than permanent State boards. This work is done by city councils, Chambers of Commerce, and other organizations. It would seem that the Church should be peculiarly fitted for leadership in such undertakings, especially when the church of the community is impressively represented as by the local Council of the Federation of Churches, or some other such organization.

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## XII

### THE PREVENTION OF POVERTY

#### For the abatement of poverty

THERE is a wide difference between being poor and being in poverty. The term "poor" is comparative, while "poverty" denotes a diseased social condition, wherein the individual is forced to live badly housed, underfed, and inadequately clothed. Poverty is not desirable, and when Jesus said, "The poor ye have always with you," he was not commending poverty. It is possible to be poor and still retain the elements which make for a better manhood and womanhood, but poverty is a positive condition bred by neglect, ignorance, and greed for gain. It is intolerable and has no place in the scheme of a normal society. The conditions which make it are the conditions which degrade and destroy human life. It is the result of maladjustment in the social system, and not depravity. Poverty has its laws, and the old idea that it is a good thing as a discipline for the soul, sent of God to make men more obedient to his will and better fitted for heaven, is disproved by the study of the individuals living in poverty, for it is found that those dependent upon public charities have about as much inherent virtue and vice in them as is found in the same number of people living above the poverty line. It



takes a certain amount of money to buy the bare necessities of life, such as a house in which to live, food, clothes, heat, and light. The individual who has these things will be poor compared with his neighbor who has much more; the one who is denied these essentials, and whose income is insufficient to purchase them, is in poverty.

### CAUSES OF POVERTY

Among the chief causes of poverty are sickness, low wages, industrial accidents, ignorance, incompetence, overcrowding, unemployment, friendlessness, desertion, and vice. Some writers have been very certain that they could distinguish between the forces which cause poverty, and could give to each cause its percentage of evil influence, but later thinkers are agreed that what may be considered at one time a cause proves to be a result. For instance, inefficiency might be given as a cause for unemployment, whereas the fact that a man had not been employed for some time might be the thing that made him inefficient, for it is well known that human nature deteriorates in idleness. Another difficulty that the social worker meets when he attempts to classify the causes of poverty is that there is hardly ever a case where any one cause can be assigned as the sole reason. There are often half a dozen different causes contributing to the misery in which a family finds itself through poverty. A family consisting of the mother and five children applied to the Associated Charities for assistance. The friendly visitor, upon investigation, found that

the father had died some three months before: he had been a carpenter earning about sixteen dollars a week; with this income they had lived well, but were not able to save much. Early in the winter the father had contracted a severe cold; work was plentiful, and as his family needed every cent he could earn, he did not stop work until the disease had fastened upon him and he was forced to go to the hospital, and while he was there the family lived upon the credit they had established among the tradesmen of their community. The head of the family, immediately upon his discharge from the hospital, went back to work. Exposure brought on a lingering cough, which toward the latter part of the winter developed into tuberculosis. The case was referred to the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, and they suggested a special diet for the man in order to facilitate his cure. In conference with friends it was agreed that the oldest boy and girl be allowed to go to work. The man was now working about half time. One day he fell from the scaffolding upon which he was working and broke his collar bone. This accident stopped the family income, with the exception of the amount that the children were earning. Before the father was able to go to work again another child was born, and in their straitened circumstances, their credit having been exhausted, the family became dependent upon charity in a large measure. The disease developed rapidly, and the father died soon after. The family received the insurance which he had carried and which represented all their savings. After the funeral

expenses were paid, and their many bills settled, the family found living much easier. The things that they had been denied were now possible, so for a few weeks there was prosperity in the home; but when the money was all gone the new standard of living demanded credit of the grocer, the butcher, and the clothier, and soon they had gone beyond the place where these tradesmen could afford to carry them. The mother now went to work in a factory, and another one of the children found a place in a department store. With their combined efforts they were able to make less than the father had earned in his best days; however, as long as they were all well and worked they got along comfortably; but the mother being gone all day, the baby was neglected, and its fretfulness robbed her of her night's rest. Just at this time the boy fell in with a bad set of companions, and instead of bringing his money home at the end of the week began to spend it in the poolrooms and cigar stores. He soon lost his position; he secured another, but lost that also. Finally it became almost impossible for him to find any work at all, and to further complicate matters, while temporarily employed in the office of a factory he stole some money out of the till and ran away. The combined work and worry, together with the uncertainty as to the future, undermined the woman's health, and, sick and discouraged, she gave up the unequal struggle and appealed to the charity organization for help. It is impossible to assign any one cause for this case of destitution. It was the result of a chain of bad causes.

## POSSIBLE PROGRESS

As long as poverty was looked upon as a result of personal depravity and the suffering attendant as a punishment for sin, it is natural that there should have been no serious attempt to remedy conditions. Almsgiving was considered a Christian virtue. The fact that it often helped the giver as much as the one who received made people feel so well satisfied with themselves that they never stopped to ask what the ultimate result of their giving might be. To give indiscriminately is to foster a spirit of indigence. The new conception of charity is that we are not only to help those in distress, but that we are to remove the causes of distress. In Miss Richmond's book, "The Good Neighbor," she tells the story of the good Samaritan, and then suggests that the sensible way of helping the traveler who fell among thieves is to take him to the inn, and then patrol the road so that the thieves cannot rob and beat other travelers. The two principles which guide in the administration of all charity are, first, the relief of present distress; second, the removal of the causes of the distress.

Destitution is caused by a man failing to fit himself into the conditions of modern economic society. By a little care and study the causes which have brought him into this condition can be learned, and when they are determined they should be removed. It may take years to accomplish the result. Slums are not eradicated in a day, nor good legislation passed in one year. In the meantime the distress of the unfortunate

must be relieved, but he should be helped to help himself. The people who receive attention from charitable organizations can be cured of their poverty or confirmed in it by the attitude that the helper assumes. If we give without thought, we will make the recipients of our gifts more dependent upon charity. On the other hand, if we put into their possession weapons with which to fight the battle against poverty, we are doing the ones we would help a real service. Men are stronger as they fight, and conditions which call for action can be changed only by the coöperation of the ones who are suffering. Real help is given when we increase the facilities so that the children of the very poor may have a better chance for a common-school education, with domestic and industrial training. Effort should be made to encourage temperance, sanitary living, wise and frugal management of the home, and provident habits. On the other hand much good can often be accomplished by conferring with employers and encouraging them to increase the pay of their employees, and where this fails, legislation and the pressure of public opinion may be invoked to secure a better wage.

#### REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

Laws have been passed which promote public health. In many places the medical inspection of school children is compulsory. This law followed the discovery that a large proportion of the wayward children were suffering from some physical disability. Pure food laws are being enforced, thus making it impossible for

corporations to poison the poor through the things that they eat; laws against patent medicine; compensation laws, to care for those who are disabled, or the dependents of those who are killed in the course of their daily tasks; employers' liability laws, making the employer responsible for the safety of his employees; laws to protect the worker against the diseases incident to his occupation, such as the law to prohibit the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches; laws looking toward sanitary housing; laws against child-labor; laws against wife desertion; laws for making education compulsory; laws making the employment bureaus more efficient; laws regulating the loan associations.

### CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY

In the realm of constructive philanthropy great results have been achieved through friendly visiting among the poor. Many a family has gone to pieces and known the depths of misery because they have had no friends. The young woman who has volunteered to be a friendly visitor, goes into the home, not as a critic, not to preach, not even to teach, but to be a friend. Through learning the conditions of the poor in every community better hospitals and sanitariums are possible. Diseases, such as tuberculosis, are being studied and are now being sanely treated. Schools have been established and able instruction is being given to the defectives. Society is feeling a greater responsibility for the inefficient. Our civilization is not measured by the height of the

highest but by the general average. The average cannot be raised so long as we tacitly assume that a large number of people are hopelessly inefficient. Through the charitable impulse, infant welfare societies have been formed which provide pure milk for poor babies and wise instruction for the mothers; fresh-air charities; day nurseries; loan associations, conducted by men willing to accept nominal profit, and thus driving out the loan sharks; legal aid societies; social centers, offering the people the attractions which the saloons have commercialized, thus lessening drunkenness, and giving a larger proportion of the people's earnings into the family exchequer. The labor unions have done much by securing cleaner and more sanitary conditions in the factories and the workshops; through shortening the day and increasing the pay of the men who work, also by providing pensions and burial benefits.

#### ACTION BY THE CHURCH

The Church has always taken care of its poor people. In the earliest history of the apostolic church, we have the account of elaborate preparations being made for the care of the widows and orphans. Almsgiving is a Christian virtue. The United Charities of Chicago report that the churches do more than all the other organizations together for the alleviation of distress. The question is, "How can the Church best accomplish its end?"

1. *Education.* The conditions in every community ought to be known by every church member. This



information can be gained only by personal investigation. Every church ought to have a committee whose business is to report from time to time the actual conditions of its parish. If the saloons are getting more money than the people can afford to spend, the community has an interest which transcends the rights of the saloon keeper. If there are unprotected buildings where girls and women are at work in large numbers, a fire would throw a mass of suffering upon the shoulders of the Church and the community, and it is the task of the Church to know the conditions. If tenements are breeding tuberculosis, the Church's obligation is to know the facts, as well as contribute to the Anti-Tuberculosis Society. If the average wages paid to the workmen are so low that the families are unable to live respectably upon them, it would be fitting for the Church, through its committee, to bring the facts before the employers.

2. *Coöperation.* Every church, every individual member of the Church, and every pastor is more or less preyed upon by people in the community who have, through chronic indigence, lost all moral sense. It is not an uncommon thing to have a family draw help from two or three churches and as many Sunday schools in the same community. Nearly every city of any consequence has an Associated or United Charities. This organization is the clearing house for all social work. Every case is investigated, the facts learned, and the information is at the disposal of the churches. These charity organizations spend very little money in actual help. The task they assume is

to investigate the conditions and suggest the method of cure, and then relate the person in distress to that organization or individual to whom he would most naturally look for help. In a large majority of cases church relations are the ones that are strongest, and the ones through whom help can be most easily secured. Every church ought to be a supporter of and in close sympathetic touch with the charity organization of the city. Thus duplication is avoided and efficiency in help secured.

3. *Friendly Visiting.* The members of the Church can do much by friendly visiting among the poor. This work is best done through coöperation with the charity organization. The aim of all such work as outlined above is to reconstruct the family and make it a real unit in the community life, with every member having strength of character and increasing moral stamina.

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## XIII

### DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.

IN order to present the fundamental principles by which justice in the distribution of wealth may be determined, a few simple truths concerning the relation between production and the distribution of wealth must be stated. Wealth is produced for the satisfaction of the wants of mankind. Human energy coöperates with natural forces in creating a continued flow of goods capable of satisfying wants. The process by which these goods are brought into a form suitable to satisfy the wants of man is known as production. Economists have been in the habit of designating three factors, or agents, that are combined in bringing the goods into a usable form, namely, land, labor, and capital. The productive process began with man and nature, but gradually man has accumulated a stock of tools of various kinds known as capital, which has enabled him to harness the natural forces more effectively, and which has not only greatly increased the quantity of goods produced but has also facilitated the productive process itself. There was a time when the chief economic problem was how to

produce, but during the last fifty years the contest with nature has largely been on the side of man and his inventive genius, so that the problem of distributing the products of industry has become increasingly more important.

Distribution is a social process. So long as every individual or family group was self-sufficient, and produced what was consumed, there was no problem of distribution. But with the expansion and subdivision of the productive process some means had to be devised by which the agents that assist in the process could be remunerated. The share which an agent receives depends, in the first place, upon the character of the whole structure of economic society. For instance, where slavery exists there can be no wages; where the same persons own the capital and do the manual labor, wages and interest cannot be distinguished. Where capital is not loaned interest does not emerge. In the second place, the shares depend upon the relative importance of each agent in the productive process. If land is scarce, as in the heart of a great city, it will command a high return for its use. If capital or labor should be scarce, they too will be highly remunerated.

However, difficulties have arisen in determining an equitable division of the products of industry, and hence it has become necessary to adopt some standard of justice for the distribution of wealth among the agents that have assisted in its production. Three standards of justice have been advanced at different times, namely, quality, service as measured by prod-

uct and need. There are two objections to equality as a standard for the distribution of wealth. First, the ability of men to use wealth is enormously unequal. Therefore an equal distribution would be a wasteful method. But, besides the wastefulness, an equal distribution is further objectionable because of the discouragement it might place on the energetic members of society, and also the stimulus to laziness and idleness that might result. In fact, there is only one sense in which men need be regarded as equal, and that is that the happiness of one is just as important as the happiness of another, and that no person or class can be regarded as a means to the happiness of others.

Perhaps the most widely accepted standard of justice at the present time is service. The idea is that no person or agent can lay claim to a share in wealth who is unable to establish that claim on the ground of service rendered. The measure of the service is the importance of the product resulting from the use of the agent, whether it be land, labor, or capital. If we are asked what wages should a laborer receive, the answer would be, "What has he added to the fund of wealth of the country?" Be this much or little, this is his service to the welfare of the country, and according to this standard should be his share of the product. The difficulty with this standard is that in some cases it is almost impossible to measure the importance of the service of a man; as, for instance, how much are the services of an Edison, or a Burbank, or a Roosevelt worth? But as a social

principle distribution according to service has this further to be said in its favor, that it discourages idleness and puts a premium on thrift and enterprise.

Those who see the difficulties in measuring what a man has produced, suggest that needs is the true standard of justice in distributing wealth, and they point to the fact that needs is the basis of distribution in the family—that most fundamental institution of the human society. And it is argued that it is for the interest of society to allow those with highest capacities to develop most completely all their powers that are of service to the whole community. It should be clear, I think, that needs can be determined with no more exactness than service. But there is a growing sentiment in favor of establishing in some authoritative way a minimum of needs below which remuneration shall not fall. The demand for a minimum wage or a living wage is an expression of this sentiment, and certainly the welfare of society demands that each family group receive a share of wealth large enough to maintain itself without loss of physical or economic energy. However, it is not necessary to accept any one of these tests and wholly reject the others. The first indicates that the lowliest human being is an end, and not a means, to the happiness of others. The second is a good, workable social principle so far as it can be applied, but in modern economic society it is becoming increasingly more necessary to supplement service by establishing a minimum of needs—not what the individual asks for but what is necessary for his complete development.

Are there any forces operating in modern economic society which tend to distribute wealth in accordance with the standards of justice set down above? For more than one hundred years competition has been looked upon as the regulator of trade, and as a force that tended to distribute wealth according to the services rendered by any agent. The way in which competition operates is familiar to all; the argument runs something like this: Every person will buy what suits him best, and manufacturers will, after some experimentation, produce what the people want. If one line of work is more profitable than another, more men and more capital will go into this line, and thus competition will force prices down. If one dealer cheats his customers or underpays his labor, men will go where fair treatment can be had. Everywhere men are looking out for their own best interests, and they will make bargains most advantageous to themselves. It has been thought that this balancing of self-interests was the best possible regulator of economic conditions. From the middle of the eighteenth century until about two decades ago this force has held full sway, and it has become firmly rooted in public opinion and is the basis of most of the laws and legal institutions of our day. The argument assumes a higher degree of mobility in both labor and capital than really exists, but so long as industry was carried on with a large number of competing concerns, competition did approximate justice in the distribution of wealth. Wherever the force is still operating, its influence is in the direction of



a just distribution. But there are serious obstacles to the free movement of labor and capital. In recent years there has been an enormous growth of monopolistic control of industry, which has been occasioned partly by the desire to escape the evils of excessive competition and partly because of the economies that exist when an industry is run on a large scale. The net result has been that competition no longer serves as a sufficient protection to a just distribution of wealth. Because of the failure of competition, and in order to combat the evils of the present economic system, several proposals have been advanced to which consideration will now be given.

### PROFIT-SHARING

The economic changes which have concentrated the control of industry into the hands of the large corporate concerns have shut off from the average wage-earner what has long been regarded as one of the most important stimuli to thrift and enterprise, namely, the right to enjoy income from the ownership of property. The sole incentive for the wage-earner now is his daily wage; at least his interest in the success of the concern as measured by profits is so remote for the majority of laborers as to be a negligible influence on his thrift and enterprise. In order to enlist the interest of the employee in the concern, employers in some cases have adopted a system of sharing profits, which is regarded by some writers as one of the most important remedies for the evils of the labor problem.

Profit-sharing consists of an "agreement, freely entered into, by which the employee receives a share, fixed in advance, of the profits." It should be distinguished from related forms of remuneration in addition to wages which do not depend on profits, as for instance, gain-sharing—that is, a bonus given in proportion to the increase in product or saving in cost of production. Profit-sharing does not involve any radical change in the present wage system, but is merely a modification of that system. It does not necessarily raise the question of justice in the distribution of wealth, and, in fact, many advocates of profit-sharing claim that it is not a means of equalizing the holdings of wealth, but a system by which the products of industry can be increased, thus benefiting both the employer and the employee. In the main, the system presupposes that the profits shared will be created by increased diligence and care on the part of the workmen. The employers will gain by the increase in quality and quantity of the product, by the diminution of strikes and other labor troubles, and by the greater permanence of the labor force, due to the growth of the workman's interest in the success of the business. The employee will be benefited by the sum received in addition to wages, by acquiring better habits of industry, and by the savings due to the promotion of industrial peace.

There are about as many plans for profit-sharing as there are establishments adopting the systems, but three principal methods of distribution of the shares

predominate: Cash payments paid at the close of a fixed period; deferred participation by means of a deposit in a bank or in a benefit fund of some kind, or an annuity paid after the workman reaches a certain age and has been in the service of the company for a specified period; and payment in the shares of stock of the company. Among the best known and most successful profit-sharing concerns in the United States are Procter & Gamble, manufacturers of Ivory Soap; N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of hardware; and Filene Brothers, a mercantile establishment in Boston. This firm has perhaps gone farther in the direction of sharing management, as well as profits, than any firm in the country.

The profit-sharing features adopted by this firm consist of three parts. In the first place, they have an agreement that "every share of stock must belong to somebody who is working in the store." This stock is sold at such a price that profits will pay for it in three years. Secondly, a commission is paid on sales. Some employees are stimulated to earn enormous wages, but as there is a margin of profit on each sale, the greater the number of sales, the greater the profit for the firm. The temptation to overwork is often great, but the firm believes that so long as no attempt is made to cut the wages, the evil resulting will be small. Lastly, profit-sharing proper, which consists in dividing the profit in so far as possible with every one who has helped to make it. To each department there are issued one hundred stock certificates, fifty of

which go to the men who have definite control of the section, such as buyers, assistant buyers, floor managers, etc. The remaining fifty from the forty or fifty departments are put into a general pool. About two hundred of these shares are distributed among men and women who have no special departments, but, in the main, these shares are distributed among those who have grown to the responsibility of having one or more men under them. The principle is to assign the share to the position, and whenever a man leaves the business the certificate must be surrendered. In all cases the profits shared are entirely independent of wages, and every effort is made to protect the freedom of the employee to leave the firm if he finds it is to his interest to do so.

On the side of the management, the firm has adopted a more radical measure, but one which has worked successfully, namely, the adoption of the principle of arbitration as a measure of settling "practically every question that comes up." The firm retains the right to determine the character of the stock carried and the right of dismissal. But the latter right may be limited by the decision of the Board of Arbitration. All house rules regulating the conditions of employment are made by the employees, which enables the firm to throw the blame for bad rules and complaints against the same back upon those who made them. Proposed changes must also come only by vote of the majority of the employees. The Board of Arbitration is the most important feature of the plan. It is composed of representatives of the firm and of the em-

ployees. Any employee may bring complaints or disputes to this board for adjudication. Should it be a case of dismissal, the Board may reinstate if it sees fit. The firm maintains that the responsibility thus placed upon the employees makes them conservative, and they will not decide any question against the interest of the business. They further claim that the whole plan has proven financially successful, that the concern is as profitable as any of its kind in the country. What the plan apparently has done is to harness the good will and interest of the employee in the success of the business.

### COÖPERATION

Coöperation differs from profit-sharing in several important respects. In the first place, coöperation involves a radical change in the wage system, while profit-sharing aims only at a modification of that system. Then, under profit-sharing the capitalists strive to increase net profits by means of a bonus to labor more or less dependent upon the increased zeal and diligence of the laborers, while coöperation contemplates the abolition of profits by distributing any surplus earnings among those whose labor has created the surplus. Finally, profit-sharing aims to increase the product of industry, while coöperation seeks to promote a more equitable distribution of wealth. The ideal of coöperation demands that life be regarded as more important than property; that capital shall be made the servant and not the master of labor, and,

lastly, that production shall be carried on for use and not for profit. Whereas in the past capital has hired labor, paying its market price, under coöperation labor proposes to reverse this process and buy capital, paying its best market price, and retain all the profits for itself. In the realization of this ideal coöperation will require that industry be directed by groups voluntarily associated and working under managers elected by the members of the respective groups, each of which will distribute among its own membership all of the profits realized.

There are three different forms of coöperation: First, an association that aims to save the merchant's or middle man's profit, which is known as distributive, or consumers' coöperation; second, an association for the purpose of saving the producer's profit, or producers' coöperation; and, finally, coöperative credit, an association which aims to save for its membership through their combined capital and combined credit. Consumers' coöperation is the most widely known and most successful form of coöperation. The two essential features in its operation are the democratic management and a division of profits in proportion to purchases. Usually the store is controlled by the shareholders on the basis of one vote per shareholder regardless of the number of shares owned. A limitation is generally placed on the number of shares that can be owned by any individual member, which varies from one to twenty. In the division of profits the various societies follow different practices, but, in general, there are two methods, namely, a

division among shareholders only, and a division among both shareholders and nonshareholders, the latter ordinarily receiving a smaller portion. In regard to prices, the most successful societies have maintained market prices, giving their members the advantages of discounts in the form of dividends on purchases. Experience has also proven the wisdom of cash sales, which avoids the losses that arise from bad debts.

While coöperation has long been known in the United States, it has not as yet found a very favorable field of development. The whole spirit of our people and of our economic and social institutions is, up to date, opposed to the collective action which is necessary for successful coöperation. Modern industry presents abundant evidence of coöperation in the exploitation of natural resources, but this is done almost universally for private profit. With the growth of our population, and the resultant need for greater economy in the use of our natural resources, the spirit of coöperation is likely to increase so that the patriot of the future is likely to become the man who has a well-developed sense of collective responsibility. Many isolated cases of coöperation exist throughout the country, but no uniform movement, as in England.

One of the oldest and best-known organizations that have fostered the spirit of coöperation in the United States is the Patrons of Industry, commonly known as the National Grange, a farmers' organization, which has had considerable influence in the past



and still is an active force in certain sections of the country. When first established, the Grange endeavored to develop coöperative buying, but without permanent success. So that in recent years, especially in the grain-producing sections of the country, its attention has been directed to coöperative selling. However, both national and State organizations are now recommending to the local Grange greater activity on the side of consumers' coöperation.

The most extensive and successful coöperative enterprises can be found in England, which may be regarded as the home of the coöperative movement. The coöperative societies there had an enrolled membership in 1909 of 2,585,293, who, together with their families, would bring the total number of persons reached by coöperation in England up to about 10,000,000, or one person in four in the total population. The volume of trade amounted to \$544,000,000 and profits reached \$60,000,000, or about 11 per cent on the total sales. Other European countries also show considerable coöperation. Sufficient facts have been presented, however, to warrant the statement that coöperation is a vital force in the older countries. As a scheme of reform coöperation looks more toward the economy in the production and sale of wealth than to a change in the ownership. Yet the complete realization of the coöperative ideal would doubtless make for greater equality among individual holdings, and in so far as it would eliminate the nonproductive classes the system would establish a more equitable basis for the distribution of wealth.

## THE SINGLE TAX

The single tax, as a scheme of social reform, traces the injustices in modern economic society to the private property in land values. The advocates of the system lay down certain propositions of social and economic justice by which the system may be tested. Chief among these are the following: 1. Every member of a State is entitled to the exclusive possession of all the wealth which his labor produces or his services procure, so long as he does not infringe upon the equal right of all other members. 2. All men have equal rights to the use of land. This proposition rests upon the argument that a disregard of the equal right to land necessarily involves a violation of the unequal right to wealth which grows out of the differences in the ability of members to produce wealth. Therefore social justice demands that every member of the State be free to produce according to his capacity and industry, and that this freedom can be achieved only through the abolition of all private monopolies, and of all taxation of justly acquired wealth, and, furthermore, by adequately safeguarding the right of each individual to the produce of his labor. 3. Social injustice arises from an infringement of these rights, and social justice can be achieved only by abolishing existing violations of these rights. 4. The principal violations consist in legalizing private monopolies, especially monopoly in land. 5. And since one of the chief functions of the State is the establishment and maintenance of justice, it therefore becomes a paramount duty of the State to provide

and enforce regulations which shall safeguard the right of every one of its members.

What the single-tax advocates see is the increase in land values accruing to the owners of land without any corresponding service on their part, and also the obstacles in the way of the most efficient use of the land which the high values entail. In this connection they make an important distinction between the right of possession and the right to legal ownership of the land. Right of possession is the right to use, as, for instance, the right of a tenant. Right of ownership is the right to dispose, as by sale or will.

Now, the essential condition for the most efficient use of the land, according to their argument, is security of possession, and they assert that inefficient use of land can almost invariably be traced to the absence of proper protection to this right of possession. For instance, the reason why tenants are commonly charged with skinning the farm can be explained not so much by the lack of ownership as by a lack of adequate protection to the use of the land and sufficient compensation for permanent improvements made. Private property in land does furnish protection to the right of possession, but it also leads to great social injustice. All the increase in value resulting from the growth of the community accrues to the owner of the land, which fosters speculation and fictitious values. These high prices tend to discourage the most efficient use of land, labor or capital.

The remedy proposed for this evil is gradually to absorb the unearned land values for social purposes

by means of a single tax on the rental value of the land. The effect of such a measure would be to remove the incentive to own land for speculative purposes. The present owners, having to pay the tax on the rental value, instead of on the income which the land yields, would either use the land in the most advantageous way or dispose of it to those who would. The lowering of the rental value arising from this course would increase the demand for labor, and as the other forms of taxation were reduced, the demand for capital would likewise be increased. Thus gradually the equal rights to land and unequal but equitable rights to labor products would be established without appreciable hardships to anyone. Land would lose all market value. It would no longer be bought and sold, and as society would receive all the benefits from land which were not due to individual labor, the collective ownership of the rent which the single-tax theory proposes would lead to the collective ownership of the land itself.

### SOCIALISM

In the minds of most people socialism is synonymous with lawlessness, confiscation, and anarchy. But back of the intemperate and violent language and the revolutionary outbreaks, which have too frequently accompanied its propagation—"agitations which should be regarded as symptoms of deep-seated social wrongs" rather than evidences of the essence of the movement—socialism has at all times been a plan of

social reconstruction. Beginning shortly after great and far-reaching industrial changes, which have gradually evolved our modern factory system with its attendant social evils and misery, socialism in the early day undertook to analyze the causes of social distress on the basis of an eighteenth century philosophy. The result was a woeful tangle of philosophical and Utopian schemes of social reform which failed in their purpose because they were based on a misconception of the cause of the social evils. Gradually socialism has disentangled itself from these absurd and impossible schemes, and after a more careful inquiry into the causes of the evils has become more and more a reform aimed at the economic relation of mankind. Socialism has, therefore, come to mean the collective ownership of land and all forms of capital.

The socialists maintain that private property in land and the instruments of production leads to social and economic anarchy and to the degradation of the working classes. They complain also of competition and of lack of plan in modern industry which leads to overproduction and industrial depression, causing unemployment and hardship among the laborers. They argue that the history of society for centuries past has been to exclude the laborers from the possession of land and capital. Such a system, they conclude, breeds idleness, vice, and misery, and tends more and more to separate society into two warring classes—the rich, with his control over the wealth-producing factors of society, and the toilers,

who are the real producers of the wealth. The issue between these two classes will inevitably lead to socialism or to social ruin. While they do not agree in all the details of the aims and methods, the socialists propose as a remedy for the evils of the present economic system the social ownership of land and capital, and would limit private property to property in income, and to wealth held for consumption purposes, such as private libraries, collections of art, and any other forms of wealth not held for profit.

It is frequently argued against collective ownership that it would destroy individual initiative and stop all progress, thus leading to social stagnation. If this criticism be well founded, socialism has little grounds for consideration as a scheme of social reform. In order to arrive at an unbiased opinion on this question, it may be asked, What is necessary to enlist the initiative of the individual in line with social progress? Does private property secure this initiative? Is it a necessary requisite as a stimulus for individual initiative, and has it worked out satisfactorily at all times and under all circumstances? The social principle that may be laid down as a guide in answering these questions is that the welfare of society will best be served by protecting every individual in the enjoyment of the fruits of his own labor. That private property in land and capital has secured for the individual this protection can scarcely be questioned. But private property carries with it the right of inheritance which enables the accumulations of one generation to be passed on to the next, irrespective of the services of

the latter. It is at this point that private property as a protection to the right of an individual to enjoy the fruits of his labor begins to encroach upon the equally valid right of other individuals. The recognition of this fact raises the question whether the right to dispose of the property is necessary to stimulate individual initiative, and the answer which will be reached by any fair-minded examination of the business relations that exist in our great industrial centers will negative this idea. For in our modern cities the largest proportion of business is carried on in leased properties, oftentimes both the building and the land being leased. What the lease does is to secure for the individual the possession or use of the property. Hence one may conclude that private property as now interpreted is not a necessary requisite for individual initiative, but the real requisite is the proper protection in the use or possession of the property.

Private property, then, stands or falls with its influence on the welfare of society. Or, putting the same idea in other words, private property is justified by social expediency. By the same test will the principle of collective ownership stand or fall. So well recognized is this principle that the community no longer looks horrified when municipal ownership of waterworks, electric lights, and gas works is advocated as a sound social policy. Therefore it would seem clear that a gradual extension of collective ownership is entirely in harmony with the best interests of society, but that this extension should be made no faster than the community develops effective admin-



istrative machinery, and is prepared for the new responsibilities.

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